A

HISTORY OF INDIA

FOR SCHOOLS.

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PREFACE.

THIS book has been written with the view of meeting the requirements of the Examinations of the Indian Universities; and is more especially intended for the use of candidates for the Entrance Examinations. We have learnt by experience, and have been assured by the most competent educational authorities, that the want of a suitable book for this purpose has been long felt.

Whilst we have compressed our work into as small a compass as possible, and have carefully avoided any detailed or abstruse discussions which might be uninteresting or obscure to a youthful reader; we have been equally careful to avoid the unscientific puerility which is supposed by some to be most intelligible and pleasing to youth. We have endeavoured to embody, briefly and in simple language, the most striking results of modern research in the interesting field of Indian History; and hence we venture to hope that this little book may be found useful, both by the young students for whom it is primarily intended, and also (as a handbook of convenient size) by the general reader.

Our account of the Modern Period is an abridgment of Dr. Pope's larger *Text-book of Indian History*; and for the authorities for that period, we would refer our readers to that work.

For the Ancient History, we are largely indebted to many articles published at various times in the *Calcutta Review*; based for the most part on the works of such well-known Orientalists as Wilson, Colebrooke, Muir, Lassen, Weber, Gorresio, Burnouf, and Max Müller. The Introductory chapter is mainly derived from Hamilton's and Thornton's *Gazetteers*, from Hodgson's *Aborigines of India*, from

Dr. Hunter's *Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages*, and from Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*. In the First Chapter we have generally followed—

(1) Weber's *Indische Skizzen* (a manuscript translation of fragments, by Professor Tawney); (2) Mr. Talboys Wheeler's *History of India* (the Vaidik and Bráhmanic Periods); (3) Mrs. Manning's *Ancient and Mediæval India*; (4) Professor Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, and *Chips from a German Workshop*; (5) Small's *Handbook of Sanskrit Literature*; (6) Garrett's *Classical Dictionary of India*.

The Second Chapter is based on—

(1) Mr. Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*; (2) Professor Dowson's edition of Sir Henry Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians*.

It is hardly necessary to mention Professor Cowell's admirable edition of Elphinstone's *History*, which must always be largely used in a work of this kind. The Third and Fourth Chapters are mainly derived from this source—supplemented however from Professor Blochmann's invaluable biographical notes on the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, now in course of publication.

It is necessary to add a few words on the spelling of Indian proper names. We have endeavoured strictly to follow the system recently adopted by the Government of India for use in all official documents, and distinctly authorised by that Government in the *Gazette of India* in April 1868. This system, elaborated by Dr. Hunter in the Statistical Department, is virtually identical with the Wilsonian system of transliteration, as modified by the usage of the Asiatic and other learned Societies, and of the University of Calcutta; with certain further modifications officially authorised, to meet the cases of names (such as *Calcutta, Masulipatam*) whose spelling has acquired historic fixity. As we are of opinion that *uniformity* is of more importance than *minute accuracy* in a matter of

orthography, we have endeavoured to conform to this system in every case, even where we have considered the official modifications unnecessary. Our best thanks are due to Dr. Hunter for the ready courtesy with which he has aided us in this attempt. We append the guide to transliteration and pronunciation, as given by Dr. Hunter in his Note on the subject.

Long *á* (as in *bhát*, rice,) corresponding to the first *a* in *tartan*, *almond*, &c., is represented by *á*.

Short *a* (as in *man*, mind,) has a varying degree of broadness, from the sound of the second syllable in wom*a*n, rur*a*l, to that of the first syllable in p*a*ltry. It is represented by *a*.

The long and short *i* (as in *til*, oil-seed, and *bíj*, seed,) need not, except on rare occasions, be distinguished unless in Urdu words. The sound varies from the sharp *i* in cl*i*que or pol*i*ce to the longer *i* in rav*i*nes. It is represented by *i*, with the accented *í* for the long Urdu sound.

Short and long *u* (as in *putra*, son, and *dúr*, distance,) need not, except in rare instances, be distinguished. It corresponds to the sounds of varying length in b*u*ll, p*u*t, and the first syllable of cr*u*el, r*u*ral. It is represented by *u*, with the accented *ú* in the few words that may require accentuation. Thus, the word or termination *pur*, a city, need never be accented; as although it is long when written in the Persian character, it is short when written in the Nagari or Bengali.

e (as *ek*, one,) corresponds to the English *a* in *mate*, *dare*, or the French *é* in *méchant*; and is represented by *e*.

o (as in *kot*, a fort,) corresponds to the English *o* in *note*, *lore*; and is represented by *o*.

ai (as in *maidan*, a plain,) nearly corresponds to the English vowel sound in *ride*, *size* (but is broader); and is represented by *ai*.

au (as in *Gaur*) corresponds to the English vowel sound in *cloud*, and is represented by *au*.

January 1*st*, 1872.

ERRATA.

Chapter I., § 11, line 7, for *Savítrí* read *Sávitrí*.
Chapter III., § 30, line 6, *dele* § 30.
Chapter IV., Part II. *passim*, for *Bahmini* read *Bahmani*.

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§ 1. India may be described roughly as the country which lies north and south between the Himálaya mountains and the Great Indian Ocean. From the port of Karáchi in the extreme west, to the eastern borders of Assám, is a distance of about 1800 miles; a like distance separates Cape Comórin in the south from the northern extremity of the Panjáb; and the area included between these limits has been estimated at about 1,500,000 square miles. India thus extends from the 8th degree of north latitude to the 36th; and from the longitude of 66° 44′ to that of 99° 30′, east of Greenwich.

§ 2. The first and simplest division of India is into North and South—called respectively Hindústán and the Dakhin; both have strongly marked natural boundaries, and the latter forms what is called the Indian Peninsula.

§ 3. Hindústán is bounded on the *north* by the loftiest mountains in the world, the Himálayas, which separate it from Thibet and the high land of Central Asia. On the *west* its natural boundaries are the Indus and the mountains which rise from its western bank; these elevations are called the Sulaimán range where they separate the Panjáb from Afghánistán; and have various local names, the Hálá mountains and others, further to the south, where they divide Sind from Biluchistán. The *southern* frontier rests with its western extremity on the Arabian Sea (including the Gulfs of Kach and Kambáy), and its eastern on the Bay of Bengal: in the intervening space, where it abuts on the Dakhin, it is formed by the Vindhya Hills, with their continuations in Chuttia Nágpur (or Chota Nágpor) and Cattack. The *eastern* boundary of Hindústán is not

so clearly defined as the others; it is formed by ranges of hills in East Assam and Manipur, running southward from the eastern extremity of the Himálaya range and forming the watershed between the basins of the Brahmaputra and the Irawádi.

§ 4. Hindústán, by its physical characteristics, is divided into five portions of unequal size and importance:—

(1). The whole of the west is occupied by the basin of the Indus, which enters the country at its north-west corner, and flows almost directly south. The lower portion of this basin is generally arid and barren, except in the immediate vicinity of the river or in those tracts where artificial moisture can be applied by irrigation; and on its eastern side it merges in the sandy wastes which will form our fourth division. The basin of the upper Indus, well watered by its four tributaries, the Gárrah (formed by the junction of the Satlaj and the Beyah), Ráví, Chináb, and Jhelam, possesses a most fertile soil.

(2). The great valley of the Ganges, which rising in the Himálayas not far from some of the upper waters of the Indus, flows across the country in a direction generally south-east or east, and drains the whole of the southern slope of those mountains, and the northern slope of the Vindhyas and their continuations. The rich alluvial soil, and the comparatively damp climate of the lower basin, make the province of Bengal (including the immense delta of the river) one of the most productive countries in the world; whilst the upper basin, with a climate which exhibits greater extremes of temperature, is in many parts hardly, if at all, inferior in fertility, and produces in abundance the great staples of food, besides other commodities in vast quantities. The Ganges receives as tributaries on its right bank the Jamnah (which, with its great feeder, the Chambal, is scarcely less important than the main river), and the Son; on its left the Gumtí, the Ghoghra, the Gandak, and the Kosi. Of the innumerable arms which inclose and intersect its delta, only the most westerly (the Hugli) is usually navigable. Steamers can ascend the river as far as the junction with the Jamnah; and it is navigable for boats up to its descent from the mountains.

(3). The valley of the lower Brahmaputra, which drains the south-eastern slopes of the Himálayas and the mountainous region to the north of Barmah. The Delta of the Brahmaputra is contiguous to, and not clearly divided from, that of the Ganges—one mouth being fed by offshoots of both.

(4). The Great Indian Desert, which separates the lower valley of the Indus from part of the upper valley of the Ganges, which is watered by the Jamnah and its tributaries. It consists of extensive sandy tracts interspersed with several fertile oases, some of the latter being of considerable extent.

(5). A plateau or tableland, whose western wall is formed by the range of the Arávalli mountains, and its eastern by the hills of Bandelkhand. It slopes gradually from the Vindhya mountains on the south, till it sinks on the north to the Gangetic valley.

§ 5. Southern India is divided from Hindústán by the Vindhya mountain-system. It was formerly considered to be bounded on the north by the Narbaddah; but the mountains to the north of that valley mark a more definite frontier line, and we shall see hereafter that these highlands really indicate the boundary of different races. The Dakhin is in the form of a triangle; its base this range of hills; its sides, the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal respectively (the former on the west called the Malabar Coast, the latter on the east the Coromandel Coast); and its apex at Cape Comorin. The island of Ceylon, to the south, has been little concerned in the history of India, and need not be described here.

§ 6. There are four natural divisions of the Dakhin:—

(1). The valleys of the Narbaddah and Táptí, running from east to west, south of the Vindhya range, and separated by the Sátpúra and Mahádeva hills. Both rivers rise in the hilly region in the east of Central India; which forms the watershed between their basins, and those of the Wain-Ganga (the northern affluent of the Godávarí) and the Mahánadí. The upper valley of the Mahánadí may be considered to belong to this region; the lower valley forms a part of the third division of the Dakhin, and on its northern side is contiguous to the lower valley of the Ganges.

(2). South of the basin of the Táptí, the land rises to a plateau, which is bounded on the west by the lofty range of the Western Gháts, and on the east by the lower and less continuous chain of the Eastern Gháts. These hills run south-east and south-west respectively, nearly parallel to the adjacent coasts. They meet at the southern corner of the plateau (which thus forms a triangle nearly similar to the great triangle of Southern India, of which it is the central division) and are then continued in a single range to Cape Comorin. The Western Gháts are the watershed of the country south of the Táptí; and hence all the rivers of any consequence —the Godávarí, the Krishna, the Káverí—rising in these hills, find their way eastward to the Bay of Bengal through the valleys of the plateau and the extensive breaks in the chain of the Eastern Gháts. This great table land is divided by the valley of the Krishna into two smaller plateaux; the northern, which is the larger of the two, being often called the Dakhin Proper; the southern, the plateau of Maisúr or Mysor. To the south of the plateau of Maisúr is a mountainous tract formed by the junction of the Eastern and Western Gháts. This group is called the Nilgiri Hills, and from its elevation possesses a climate as temperate as that of France. For Europeans it is one of the healthiest localities in India.

(3). The lowlands which lie between the Eastern Gháts and the Bay of Bengal are in many parts of considerable extent. They stretch from the valley of the Mahánadí to the southern point of the continent, and include the lower basins of the Mahánadí, the Godávarí, the Krishna, and the Káverí. This tract, whilst it contains some of the hottest districts in India, is also

highly productive, but its coast is almost totally destitute of harbours.

(4). The strip of country between the Western Ghâts and the Indian Ocean, extending from Cape Comorin to the mouth of the Tápti, whilst it is far narrower and more rugged than the last division, abounds in natural harbours, and has been from time immemorial the resort of an extensive maritime commerce.

§ 7. From this description it will be seen that India can only be entered from the sea or by crossing lofty mountains. These mountains are generally (as in the case of the northern frontier) so high and continuous as to be impassable; or where they are lower and more accessible (as on the west and east), the barrier is strengthened by the addition of a large and rapid river to be crossed almost at the foot of each range. In this way the lower courses of the Indus and the Brahmaputra, whilst they lie within the natural frontier line, materially increase the strength of their respective frontiers, of which they form as it were the lining. The only point which is not thus guarded is the north-western corner of the Panjáb, which is also the most northerly point of the country. Here are the great pasess into Afghánistán over the mountains which connect the Sulaimán with the Himálaya range; and not far from these passes, the Indus becomes fordable at certain times of the year. By this road nearly all the early invaders entered India.

§ 8. But this gate, the only land approach to India, has always been easy to guard, for the defiles are narrow and well known, the mountain road long; and these considerations, together with the fact that the adjacent hills have been inhabited by wild and predatory tribes, presumably hostile to an invader, have probably frequently deterred the hostile attempts of ambitious conquerors. The requirements and improvements of modern warfare increased rather than lessened the difficulties of an invasion from Afghánistán or Central Asia; and when it became necessary for an invading force to drag with it heavy trains of field and siege guns, India became virtually secure on its land side. From that time it has been, and apparently will continue to be, almost hopeless for any external power to attempt to obtain a footing in the country, unless it has such a superiority over all rivals at sea as to enable it to make the three thousand miles of sea-board at once an open gate leading to every part of the country, and a basis for military operations.

§ 9. In the following pages we shall see that the history of India has been largely affected by its geography; it may be well here to point out one or two salient features in which this has been the case. *First*, its geographical isolation has had a strongly marked effect on the national mind and on the national habits. Shut out during long ages from any active intercourse with other nations of a more progressive character, and usually undisturbed by any deeply-stirring revolutions, the manners and customs and outward life generally of the natives of this country

have been of a singularly stationary and unchanging nature. The national intellect, from the same causes, has always been of an unpractical and speculative cast; whilst its lack of external influence and excitement made it at once original and self-sufficient; the same want caused an extreme addiction to a dreamy self-contemplation. This tone of thought made philosophy and the abstract sciences not only the highest, but also almost the only worthy, object of man's pursuit; it produced a theology either absurdly dogmatical or wildly metaphysical, or both,—a system of mathematical and physical science in which proofs of great skill and high cultivation appear side by side with visionary and ridiculous theories; and these and similar studies usurped, not only their due share of the attention of the learned, but also that share which, amongst less secluded races, has been devoted to the various useful and elegant sciences and arts which have contributed to the perfection of modern civilisation.

Secondly, whilst the strength of the national frontiers has rendered attempts at invasion rare, it will be seen that the attempts that have been made have been almost always successful; which fact may perhaps be explained as follows. On the one hand, the difficulties of approach were always in themselves so formidable, that no reasonable commander would attempt an invasion except in great strength: on the other hand, long habituation to peace, and the enervating tendency of a comparatively inactive life in a hot climate, on a soil that required very little labour for its cultivation, rendered the inhabitants for the most part so unwarlike, that an army which had survived the dangers and hardships of the Himálayas, and the hostility of rough and hardy hill-tribes, usually had little to fear from the resistance of the dwellers in the plains.

PART II. THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF INDIA.

§ 10. Divisions. § 11. British India. § 12. Feudatory States. § 13. Independent States. § 14. Territories of Foreign European Powers. § 15. British Territories outside the limits of India Proper.

§ 10. The political divisions of India at the present time into British India, Feudatory States, and Independent States, is not of great historical importance; for it has only been gradually established during the last hundred years. But the subdivision of British India into provinces and districts, and the divisions of the rest of India, are generally the relics of ancient territorial divisions which will frequently be referred to in the following pages; and consequently some knowledge of their situation and extent will be essential to the student of Indian history.

§ 11. India, as it has been defined in the First Part, contains about fifteen hundred thousand square miles, and a population of two hundred millions. Of this, about nine hundred thousand square miles, and a population of one hundred and fifty millions, are under the direct rule of the British Government, represented by a Viceroy or Governor-General. British India is at present divided for administrative purposes into the following provinces:—

1. Bengal, including Assám, Orissa, and Bihár, under a Lieutenant-Governor. Bengal extends over the lower courses of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, including the large delta formed by those rivers. Its chief towns are Calcutta, Dacca, Hugli, and Murshidábád.

Assám consists of the valley of the Brahmaputra. Its chief town is Gowhatty. Orissa is south-west of Bengal Proper, on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, and consists of the basin of the Mahánadí and some other streams. Its inland districts form a wild and mountainous region, in which meet the northern continuations of the Eastern Gháts and the eastern continuations of the mountains of Central India. Its chief towns are Cattack and Puri. Bihár is a province north-west of Bengal, on the Ganges. Its chief town is Patna.

The territories under the rule of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal are more than two hundred thousand square miles in area; the population is between forty and fifty millions. The Government was separated from that of the Supreme Government of India in 1843, and erected into a Lieutenant-Governorship in 1854.

2. The North-West Provinces, including those of Benáres, Allahábád, Agrah, Gorakhpur, Rohilkhand, Kumáon, Mirat (or Meerut), and Ajmír. Of these, Benáres comprehends that part of the basin of the Ganges which lies west and north-west of Bihár; Allahábád, Agrah, and Mirat, successively occupy the basins of the Ganges and the Jamnah and the *Doáb* between those rivers; Gorakhpur extends northward from Bihár to the Himálayas of Nepál; Rohilkhand is north of Mirat and Agrah, east of the Ganges, and extending to the Himálayas; Kumáon (including Garhwál) is in the Himálayas, north of Rohilkhand; and Ajmír is a province in the centre of Rájpútána (for which see below).

The North-West Provinces are now, since 1834, under a Lieutenant-Governor; they contain a population of over thirty millions, with many important towns and cities, of which the chief are Agrah, Allahábád, and Benáres.

3. The Panjáb is also under a Lieutenant-Governor. It consists of (1) the basin of the Indus and its five tributaries mentioned above; (2) the mountain valleys to the north-east and north-west of that basin (Kángrah, Pesháwar, &c.); (3) the province of Dehli (recently taken from the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West, and added to the Panjáb), which lies to the south and south-east of that basin, and is separated from the

North-West Provinces by the river Jamnah. It contains a population of about eighteen millions. Its chief towns are Láhor, Multán, Amritsar, and Dehli. On the annexation of the Panjáb in 1849 it was placed under a Board of Administration; in 1853 it was formed into a Chief Commissionership, and in 1859 into a Lieutenant-Governorship.

4. Oudh is a rich and extensive province enclosed between the sub-Himálayán independent state of Nepál on the north, and the territories of the North-West Provinces on the east, south, and west. It is watered by the Ghoghra, the Gumtí, and other tributaries of the Ganges.

It is administered by a Chief Commissioner; and occupies an area of about twenty-four thousand square miles, with a population of about three millions. Its chief towns are Lakhnau (or Lucknow), and Faizábád, near the remains of the ancient and famous city of Ayodhya or Oudh. The Lucknow residency was originally formed in 1773; and the Chief Commissionership was formed on the annexation in 1856.

5. The Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces was formed in 1861 of three distinct territories, *viz.*:—

The Ságar and Narbaddah territories, an elevated tract embracing a portion of the Vindhya and Mahádeva ranges, and containing the head-waters of the Narbaddah flowing westward, and of many tributaries of the Jamnah and Ganges flowing northward. The area is about twenty thousand square miles. The province lies south of that of Allahábad.

Nágpur comprises the greater part of what was formerly called Barár and Gondwána. It lies south of the Ságar and Narbaddah territory, and comprises the basins of the upper waters of the Mahánadí and the Wainganga. The area is about seventy-six thousand square miles, and the population about five millions.

The "Tributary Maháls," a territory lying to the east of Nágpur.

6. The Presidency of Bombay, under a Governor and Council, lies wholly on the western side of India. It embraces the upper half of the western coast, together with part of the interior table land of the Dakhin. Exclusive of Sind (which occupies the basin of the lower Indus), it comprises:—

Part of the ancient province of Gujarát, lying round the head of the Gulf of Kambáy.

Part of Khándesh, extending along the course of the Táptí and the lower portion of the Narbaddah.

The districts of the north and south Concan, which lie along the coast between the Western Gháts and the sea.

The districts of Ahmadnagar and Púna, and the province of Sátára; lying eastward of the Gháts, and forming part of the table land of the Dakhin. These provinces, with Sind, occupy an area of about one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, and contain a population of about thirteen millions.

7. The Presidency of Madras occupies all the southern part of the peninsula, extending from Cape Comorin to the borders of Bengal on the eastern coast, and to those of Bombay (with the exception of the small intervening territory of Goa, belonging to the Portuguese) on the western coast. It comprises the following provinces:—

The Northern Circars, bounded on the north by Cattack in Orissa, and on the west by the Eastern Gháts, is a rather narrow strip of sea coast, containing the basin of the Krishna. The chief town is Masulipatám, near the mouth of the Krishna.

The large province of the Carnatic embraces a large part of Southern India. It is divided into the Lower Carnatic, lying along the eastern coast below the Eastern Gháts; and the Upper Carnatic, an inland plateau above the line of those mountains. This province contains Madras, Arcot, and many other important towns.

Coimbator is a small inland territory in the western part of the Carnatic.

Malabar is a province on the western coast, north of the feudatory state of Cochin; and north of Malabar is

Canara, extending along the western coast as far as the boundary of the Portuguese territory of Goa

§ 12. Upwards of six hundred thousand square miles of territory in India are under the rule of native princes, under the protection of the British Indian Government. These States are bound by treaties, in return for this protection, to render certain feudal services to the paramount power; as, for instance, in some cases, to furnish a certain number of troops in time of war.

These states may conveniently be divided into five classes:—(1) the Native States of the Dakhin and of South India; (2) the States that are the remains of the Mahrattas; (3) the Rájpút States; (4) the Hill States of the Panjáb and Himálayas; (5), other protected States, chiefly in Bandelkhand and Central India.

(1). Of the Native States of the Dakhin by far the most important is that of the Nizám at Haidarábád, which contains nearly one hundred thousand square miles of territory. It comprises the table land of the Dakhin, being the central portion of peninsular India, and watered by the Godávarí and the Krishná and their tributaries. Besides Haidarábád, it contains Aurangábád, and other important cities.

Mysor is the southern table-land of peninsular India, south of the Nizám's dominions, and separated from them by a strip of the Madras territories.

Cochin is a small province on the south-west coast, south of Malabar. South of Cochin, and extending to Cape Comorin, is the native state of Travancor.

(2). Of the Mahratta States, the most important forms the dominions of Sindia; sometimes called Gwáliár from the name of its capital. It is of very irregular shape, stretching from near the head of the Gulf of Kambáy to the banks of

the Jamnah. It includes nearly the whole of the plateau of Málwah, and contains more than thirty-three thousand square miles.

Most of Gujarát, including nearly the whole of the peninsula of Káthiwár, is ruled by the Gaikwár. The capital is Baroda, near the Gulf of Kambáy. These dominions contain between four and five thousand square miles.

Indor, or the dominions of the family of Holkár, is a territory of very irregular shape, consisting of many detached portions. Part lies to the north, and part to the south, of the Vindhya mountains; the former being watered by the Chambal, the latter by the Narbaddah. The capital is Indor, situated on the plateau of Málwah. Its extent is upwards of nine thousand square miles.

Two other Mahratta States of small size are Kolhapur and Sáwant-Wárí, nearly enclosed in the southern portion of the territories of the Bombay Presidency.

(3). The Rájpútána States are about twenty in number. Of these, two (Ajmír and Mhairwára) are British possessions.

There are fifteen Rájpút States; of which the chief are Maiwár or Udaipur, Jaipur, formerly called Amber, and Marwár or Jodhpur. The capital of Udaipur is now a town of the same name; but was in early times Chítor, a fortress of great renown in Indian history.

In Rájpútána there are also two Játt States (Bhartpur and Dholpur or Gohad), and one Muhammadan State (Tank).

Rájpútána embraces the country of the Arávalli mountains, and extends from Sind eastward to the valley of the Jamnah. It contains an area of more than one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, and a population of about ten millions.

(4). The Hill States are situated in, or adjacent to, the valleys of the Himálayas; the chief are those of Sirmúr, Biláspur, Bussahir, and Nalagarh. To these may be added Sikhim, a small State much further to the eastward, between the territories of Nepál and Bhután. The Sanitarium of Dárjíling, belonging to the Government of Bengal, was purchased from the Rájá of Sikhim.

(5). In addition to the above are the States of Bandelkhand; the important State of Bhopál, in the south-east corner of Málwah, extending from the Narbaddah, northward over the Vindhya mountains; the territory of Rewah, east of Bandelkhand; Kach, a State occupying a peninsula to the north-west of Gujarát, and under the government of a chief called the Ráo; and many other states, in Gujarát, in Málwah, and in many other parts of India.

§ 13. Kashmír, with its capital Srínagar, occupies a fine valley in the Himálayas north of the Panjáb. It is watered by the Jhelam. It formerly belonged to the Síkhs of the Pánjab; but was, in 1846, erected into an independent State, under a Mahárájá.

Nepál is a narrow strip of territory extending along the southern slope of the Himálayas for a distance of about 500 miles. Its capital is Khátmandu. The ruling tribe is the Ghurká.

Bhután, to the east of Nepál, is bounded by the river Brahmaputra on the south and south-east, and the Himálayas on the north.

§ 14. The French possess the towns and adjoining land of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Karikál, Mahé, and Yanaon. The Portuguese hold Goa, Diu, Damán.

§ 15. It is unnecessary here to do more than mention the British possessions, outside India Proper, of the Island of Ceylon, south of India; and the territories of British Barmah (including Arakán, Pegu, and Tenasserim) to the east of the Bay of Bengal.

PART III. RACES AND LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

§ 16. A collection of many nations. § 17. Foreigners. § 18. Muhammadans of foreign descent. § 19. Races that have occupied the country since the dawn of history. § 20. Successive waves of conquest. § 21. Aryan Races. § 22. Non-Aryan Races. § 23. Dravidians. § 24. Aboriginal Tribes. § 25. The Himálayan Non-Aryans. § 26. The Non-Aryan Tribes of Central India. § 27. The Aboriginal Tribes of Southern India.

§ 16. The population of India is composed of many distinct races, some differing widely from others in habits and customs, in language, in religion, and even in appearance; and the common name *Indian*, like the common name *European*, is applied to all the members of a collection of many nations. We will here analyse this collection as it exists at the present day; it will be seen hereafter that a clear understanding of this difference of race will be of the highest importance in the study of the earliest history, and will be necessary for the profitable study of the history of later times.

§ 17. It will be useful to exclude at once from our analysis all inhabitants of a distinctly foreign origin. Amongst these should be counted not only Europeans (including Eurasians or the offspring of a mixed parentage), Chinese and the other non-Indian Asiatics, and the many alien nationalities of comparatively recent settlement in the country; but also such communities as the Armenians, the Jews of Cochin and other parts, and the Pársís;* who, though long resident here, have always been insignificant in point of numbers, have always retained their alien characteristics, and have had no influence on the history of the country.

* The Pársís, chiefly resident in and about Bombay on the west coast, belong to the ancient Persian race, and are the descendants of refugees from Persia who fled to India on the fall of the Sassanian Dynasty in the 7th Century.

§ 18. We may also exclude at once from our analysis those Muhammadans who are of foreign descent,* — that is, those Muhammadans who are not descended from converted Hindús. Their number has been estimated at nearly one-half that of the entire Musalmán population, or about twelve millions. They are chiefly found in the upper basin of the Ganges; but they form an important element in the population throughout Northern India. They are divided into four classes: Sayyids, Mughuls, Pathâns, and Shaikhs. The Sayyids claim descent from the Prophet, taking the prefix Sayyid before their names, and sometimes the title Sháh. The Mughuls are, as their name implies, descendants of the companions or followers of the Tatár conquerors of India; and are less numerous than the other classes. They are generally fairer in complexion than the rest, and have a Tatár cast of countenance. They are often known by the affix Beg; and sometimes use the prefix Mír or Mírzá. The Pathâns are of Afghán origin, and are always known by the affix Khán. The Shaikhs are a miscellaneous class, generally including all those Muhammadans who do not belong to any of the other classes. The Muhammadan aristocracy are much attached to the languages of their ancestors, Persian and Arabic, and study them carefully; but their common language is Hindústání (which is also a common medium of communication for all classes and in all parts of India). This language was originally merely the *Urdu*, or camp dialect of the Musalmán invaders, and was formed by a mixture of *Persian* with the vernaculars of the basin of the Ganges.

§ 19. The remainder of the inhabitants belong to those races which have occupied the country since the dawn of history. They form the vast majority of the whole population. But amongst these are included numerous nations which differ from each other in all characteristics of race—appearance, manners, language—as widely as they differ from those nationalities which we have already excluded as being manifestly and historically foreign.

§ 20. All the countries best known in history have been peopled by successive waves of conquering invaders pressing more and more on the earliest inhabitants; and the latter, as we can assign to them no other origin, are usually called aborigines, or children of the soil. It has almost invariably happened that the conquering race has itself occupied the most fertile lands of the country, especially the river basins, and has either reduced the aboriginal tribes to a condition of serfdom, or has driven them to the more remote districts. In cases where a second

* It is hardly necessary to observe that the broad division of the natives of India, into Hindús and Muhammadans, is founded on a distinction of religion only; even on the subject of religion it is apt to convey very erroneous notions; and it is of no ethnological importance whatever.

race of invaders has followed on the first, and has succeeded in conquering it in its turn, the latter has usually been compelled to occupy the more remote districts, and has driven the aborigines still further back, into the inaccessible fastnesses of mountains and forests. It has long been known that India forms no exception to the general rule. The combined result of all researches clearly proves, by the most complete induction, that at least *one* such wave of conquest poured over the country in early times; and we have obtained a fairly intelligible account of that conquest (which will be briefly discussed in our first chapter) by combining the testimony of ancient literature with the results of investigations into modern race-characteristics and language. The last mentioned investigations appear even to point to another and earlier tide of invasion. For the sake of clearness, we shall first consider those races which came into India on the clearly defined wave of conquest mentioned above—those, namely, which are called the Aryan races, of whose advent and origin a short account will be given hereafter. The original language of these tribes was Sanskrit; and the various dialects in use at the present day, which are derived from this stock, together with the extent to which it is modified in them respectively, will afford us some guide in determining the full effects of this invasion on the population of India.

§ 21. The Aryans, entering by the north-west passes, and descending first the valley of the Indus, and then that of the Ganges, attained their full strength and development on the latter river. Hence Hindí, in its two branches—Kanaují, probably the descendant of the dialect of the old Aryan empire of Kanauj [see Chap. I.], spoken in the North-West and Oudh, on the upper and upper-middle course of the Ganges; and Mithilí (similarly related to the language of the Aryan kingdom of Magadha) spoken in Bihár, are both nearly connected with their parent Sanskrit. Panjábí, or Játskí, spoken by Síkhs, on the upper waters of the Indus; Sindhu spoken on its lower course; Gujarátí and Mahráthí, in the north-west portions of the peninsula; Bengálí, in the lower valley of the Gangés; and Uriyá in Orissa, from the Ganges to the Mahánadí,—all these languages teach us that the nations which speak them are more or less Aryan in their descent. A considerable admixture of non-Sanskrit words in Bengálí implies that the advanced guard of the Aryan race, on its eastern frontier, has mingled largely with the conquered tribes; the language of Sind in the extreme west of the country, in like manner testifies to a large infusion of Bilúchí blood in its inhabitants—an infusion which we recognise as the remains of a Bilúchí occupation; whilst Mahráthí, extending over the north-west of the Dakhin and into the adjacent parts of Hindústán, and Uriyá occupying a similar but smaller space on the eastern side, are evidently frontier dialects, and shew a very large admixture of non-Aryan races.

§ 22. The remainder of the indigenous races of India we have

classified as non-Aryan; and many, perhaps most, scholars incline to the belief that there is a sufficient family likeness between all of them to justify us in grouping them thus. But their diversities are still numerous and great. One such diversity, clearly defined and obvious, meets us at the outset.

§ 23. A large portion of this remainder consists of nations hardly, if at all, less civilised and polished than those of the Aryan stock; living in towns and villages, in plains and river basins. Their location, it is true, is situated to the south of the mountain ranges which cut off the Dakhin from Hindústán, and is therefore remote from the coveted lands of the fertile northern plains; but the soil they cultivate is generally good, and often rich. They, for the most part, profess a religion which is more or less based on the Bráhmanical religion of their Aryan neighbours; and their manners and customs are generally not very unlike those of the latter. Above all, they possess polished and cultivated languages, one at least of which (Támil) boasts a considerable literature. At the same time their personal appearance usually testifies that they are not connected by descent with the Aryans; and the evidence of their languages decisively proves that they belong to an entirely different race. This race has been called *Dravidian*, from *Drávada*, once the name of a considerable district of Southern India. Of the Dravidian languages, *Telugu* is the speech of the largest community and the finest tribes of southern India. On account of its soft accent and musical tone, it has been called by Europeans the Italian of the East. They occupy the greater portion of the eastern side of the Dakhin, a territory whose limits coincide in some respects with those of the ancient kingdom of Telingánah, and which is bounded on the north-west by Mahráthí-speaking races, and on the north by the Uriyás. The Canarese language is the vernacular throughout the great part (including all the southern portion) of the valleys and table lands between the Eastern and Western Gháts, which formed our second geographical division of the Dakhin; and it extends in parts to the western coast. Its name is derived from that of the ancient *Carnatic* kingdom, from which also spring the names of the British districts *Canara* and the *Carnatic*; but the student must not be misled by this similarity of name, for these two districts lie for the most part beyond the limits of the Canarese language. A similar caution is necessary with regard to the *Támil* language, which is frequently called *Malábar*, whilst it is chiefly spoken on the *Coromandel* coast. *Támil*, and its western variety Malayálam (which is *really* spoken on the lower part of the Malabar coast), are the vernaculars of the whole of the southern corner of India, including the southern portions of our third and fourth geographical divisions of the Dakhin. This language shows marks of great culture and refinement, and possesses a considerable literature [*see* Chap. I., § 91]. The architectural and other remains that are scattered over the country, and the state of the language,

confirm the traditions that the Támilian race attained a high state of civilisation in very remote ages—probably long before the Aryan invasion of India. The race is said to be, on the whole, gay and ingenious, producing skilful mechanics and bold emigrants; and its members are described as "certainly the least scrupulous and superstitious, and the most enterprising and persevering race of Hindús."

§ 24. The second great branch of the Non-Aryan races and tongues of India embraces all those scattered remains of a primitive population that are now found especially in the more [illegible]e or inaccessible districts—in the rugged mountains of the north-east frontier—in the sub-Himálayan region and the Tarái or swampy jungle which forms a belt between that region and the plains—in the vast forests and on the hills of Central India—and throughout the whole extent of both ranges of Gháts and the least accessible parts of the adjoining hill districts. To these also may probably be added a considerable portion of the lowest stratum of the population of the plains, called *Dásyans* by the conquering Aryans, who preferred slavery to exile from their ancient homes, and who probably ultimately formed the greater part (in Northern India) of that vast class who were uniformly repressed by the old Brálmanic system under the general caste-name of Sudras [*see* Chap. I., § 3]. Apart from the latter class, the aboriginal tribes may be conveniently divided as follows, into three groups.

§ 25. The tribes of Non-Aryans that inhabit the hills and valleys bordering on the Himálayan region are very numerous. The chief are, the Bodo, Kocch, and Dhimal (with the Gáro and Kachári, believed by some to be merely subdivisions of one of the former), on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal; the Lepcha tribes in Sikhim, and the Lhopa in Bhután; and the Kiránti and many other tribes in Nepál.

§ 26. A great number of these aboriginal tribes occupy the jungles and hills of Central India, from the forests of Orissa on the east to those of Gujarát on the west; extending southward along both ranges of Gháts; and northward into the hills of south-west Bengal, into those of Rájpútána, and into many parts of the intervening plains. There are the Khonds in Orissa, closely allied to the Gonds of Ságar and the neighbourhood of the Narbaddah. There are the Kols of Chuttia Nágpur divided into Mundas and Uráons; and closely connected with these are the Santáls, Bhumij, and other clans of Bengal and Bihár. On the west are the Kolis of Gujarát, the Bhíls of Marwár, &c.; and in intermediate districts are Bhars, Cherús, and many others.

§ 27. The aboriginal tribes of South India inhabit the hills and valleys of the southern parts of both ranges of Gháts, and of the Nilgiri hills in which those ranges terminate. The Tuda tribes of the Nilgiris are well known; there are also the Kota the Kuramba tribes, and many others.

CHAPTER I.

THE HINDU PERIOD.

PART I. THE ARYAN INVASION. THE ACCOUNTS OF THE VEDAS.

§ 1. General character of Indian history. § 2. The Vedas. § 3. The Aboriginal Inhabitants of India. § 4. The Primitive Aryans. § 5. The Aryan Invasion.

§ 1. The history of a country usually consists of two parts: an earlier portion, about which our sources of information are few and for the most part untrustworthy; and a later portion, about which we possess full and connected accounts. The earlier portion is often called the *legendary* period, because our chief sources of information are usually in the form of legends or ancient popular tales; the later portion is called the historical period. The history of India, before the Muhammadan invasions, belongs chiefly to the former period; no connected account can be given of events before that era.

It usually happens in the history of a country that during a long middle period (sometimes called the *transition*) the accounts are partly legendary and partly historical. This, however, is less true of the history of India, than of that of most other countries; for the history of the latter part of the Hindú period is not much clearer or more accurate than that of earlier parts. On the other hand, it usually happens that, in the legendary period, there are certain points or landmarks about which our information is (owing to some accidental cause) so full and accurate as to deserve the name of history. These accidental causes usually are, *first*, temporary contact with foreign nations whose history has been more carefully preserved; *secondly*, the testimony of some writer whose works possess extraordinary claims to credibility; *thirdly*, the testimony of the inscriptions on coins, on buildings, on memorial stones or pieces of metal. We shall see that these causes have thrown much light on some isolated periods in early Indian history.

§ 2. In that section of our Introduction which treated of the races and languages of India, we pointed out that the original

(or indigenous) inhabitants of India were at a very early time, before the dawn of history, conquered and partially dispossessed by a race of invaders called Aryans.

The accounts both of the early Aryan invaders and of their predecessors in the country, are mainly derived from an examination of the Hymns of the Vedas, the most ancient religious books of the Aryans; supplemented by the hints derived from investigations into the languages of the various Aryan tribes, and from a comparison of the manners, customs, and languages of the non-Aryan tribes at present inhabiting some parts of India.

There are four Vedas, called the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sáma-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda. Each Veda is divided into two parts: the Hymns or Mantras *(Sanhitás)*, which express the wants and aspirations of the worshippers, and hence throw light on the social condition of the people; and the Bráhmanas, mainly referring to religious rites and ceremonies.

Of these writings the most important are the Hymns of the Rig-Veda, which is the oldest of the Vedas, and the oldest work in any Aryan language (its date is supposed to be about 1400 B. C.). The Hymns are addressed to a deity manifested in the phenomena of nature—to Indra, the god of the sky, often represented as the Supreme God—to Agni, the god of fire—to Varuna, the god of the firmament and of rain—to Savitri, Surya, Mitra, names of the god of the sun—to Váyu, the air—the Múruts or winds—Úshas, the dawn—the Aswins, and many others.

§ 3. From the Rig-Veda we learn that the aborigines of India—called herein Dasyus, Rákshasas, Asuras, or Pisáchas—were a dark-complexioned race who did not worship the gods of the Aryans. Many of these aboriginal tribes were very powerful, and offered great resistance to the invaders. One of their chiefs was called Sambara, who is said to have dwelt forty years upon the mountains, and to have possessed one hundred strong cities. The non-Aryans were, however, ultimately conquered; some were driven to the mountains and forests, where (as we noticed in the Introduction) they are to be found at the present day; some probably retained their power and became highly civilized, in the south of India; and others were reduced to slavery, and ultimately mixing with their conquerors, formed the lowest class of the modern Hindús.

§ 4. With regard to the invaders of India, language teaches us that they belong to a race (called Aryan or Indo-European) which included the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Persians, and most of the modern nations of Europe, such as the English, Germans, French, and many others. All these nations originally lived together as one tribe; inhabiting a country abounding in mountains, lakes, and forests, and possessing a rather cold climate—probably the elevated country of Central Asia about the banks of the Oxus. The European tribes were the first to leave, one by one

this early home of their race; the Persian and Hindú Aryans seem to have long remained together. Finally, these too separated; and the Hindú Aryans directed their march through the Hindú Kush and Himálaya mountains, towards the plains of India.

§ 5. These Aryan invaders were settled, during the centuries to which the Vedas chiefly refer, in the Panjáb. The Saraswati (a small river between the Satlaj and the Jamnah, which now loses itself in the sands of the desert) at this early period flowed into the Indus; and from the sacred character which is usually ascribed to it, it is believed to have flowed through the centre of the chief Aryan settlements, which were probably located on its banks during many hundreds of years. They were a people partly pastoral, partly agricultural. That they had attained a certain degree of civilisation is obvious, from the fact that they possessed houses, chariots, mailed armour, ships, and merchandise. The system of government was apparently a patriarchal one—the head of the family being the chief of the tribe, and also its priest. The country created or frequented by the Devatas, or gods of the Vaidik Aryans, is called *Brahmávarta* by Manu; and it is probable that this name was meant to include all that part of the Panjáb which was occupied by this race before it penetrated further into Hindústán.

PART II. THE CONQUEST OF HINDUSTAN BY THE ARYANS.

§ 6. The Aryan Conquest of Hindústán. § 7. The rise of the Monarchy and the Priesthood. § 8. The Sanskrit language. § 9. The Great Epic Poems.

§ 6. Gradually the Aryan invaders, crossing the Saraswati, began to push their conquests southward and eastward in Hindústán. The period of their advance has been called the Heroic Period of Indian history; and probably occupied many centuries. They appear first to have occupied the country from the Saraswati to the Ganges, called by Manu *Brahmarshi-desa*, or the country of divine sages, the peculiar country of the Bráhmans. [*see* § 27]. Then they passed on to the *Madhya-desa*, or middle land; extending as far as the junction of the Jamnah and the Ganges, and from the Vindhya Mountains on the south to the Himálayas on the north. And finally they became masters of the whole country, from the Western or Arabian Sea to the Eastern Sea or Bay of Bengal, called *Aryávarta*, or the land of the Aryans.

§ 7. It is obvious that many social, religious, and constitutional changes must have occurred amongst the invaders, during the centuries of their slow advance down the valleys of the Jamnah and the Ganges. At the commencement of this period, they probably still retained the patriarchal simplicity of the Vaidik times. Gradually, as many clans or families united for

purposes of warfare, the heads or chiefs of some of these clans got more power than the rest, and became Rájás or Kings. At the same time they ceased to act as priests for their clans, finding it more convenient to employ substitutes; these substitutes gradually became the hereditary priests of the people; and in this way it is probable that the Bráhmanic priesthood sprang into existence during the Heroic Period. At first they were doubtless subservient to the military class, called the Kshatriyas; and they probably remained so during the times of war and disturbance that accompanied and followed the Aryan conquest of Hindústán. But when the invaders began to settle down peaceably in their new country, the Bráhmans commenced a series of encroachments on the power of the Kshatriyas, which terminated in the complete supremacy of the former.

The establishment of the power of the Bráhmans, and the humiliation of the Kshatriyás, probably occupied a long series of years; but it is represented in the legends as having been accomplished in one bloody war. The Kshatriyas are said to have slaughtered a tribe called the Bhrigus; and in revenge Parasu Ráma twenty-one times extirpated the whole race of the Kshatriyas. This is obviously an exaggeration; the truth probably being that those Kshatriyas who refused to acknowledge the Bráhmanic system, were conquered and slain or banished.

§ 8. The language of the early Aryan Hindús, the Sanskrit, of which we get the earliest known form in the Vedas, is one of the most beautiful and most perfect languages of the world. It forms the basis of most of the modern languages of Northern India (*see* Introduction, § 21). It reached its highest development in the great Epic Poems of the Hindús, the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana.

§ 9. The events commemorated in the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana appear to have occurred at undefined periods during the Heroic Age; and are reproduced in the poems, mixed up with an infinite number of additions and exaggerations [*see* § 19].

PART III. THE LEGENDS OF THE MAHABHARATA.

§ 10. The war between the Pándavas and the Kauravas, the main story of the Mahábhárata. § 11. The Episodes of the Mahábhárata; the Bhagavad-Gítá, the stories of Sávitrí, of Nala and Damayantí, of the Harivansa, of the Deluge of Manu, of Sakuntalá.

§ 10. The Mahábhárata is a vast storehouse of legends, containing (it is believed) one hundred thousand stanzas. It is said to have been compiled by Vyása; but Vyása means simply an arranger, and seems hardly to be a proper name—the same name being given also to the compiler of the Vedas.

The poem consists of a main story (the great war between the

Pándavas and the Kauravas); and a large number of long and important episodes.

The legend of the great war is as follows:—

A royal family, said to be descended from the Moon, and hence called the lunar race, had removed from Prayág (or Allahábád) to Hastinápura, a town on the Ganges not very far from the site of the modern Dehli. Bharata had been king of this city, (*see* § 110), and was ancestor of two brothers—the younger named Pándu, and the elder Dhritaráshtra. Pándu ruled the kingdom successfully for some time; but at length abdicated, and retired with his wife and his five sons (the Pándavas) to the jungles of the Himálayas. Dhritaráshtra succeeded to the throne in his brother's absence. Before long Pándu died in his mountain retreat; and his widow Kuntí and their five sons, the Pándavas—Yudhishthira, Bhíma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva—returned to Hastinápura, to the protection of Rájá Dhritaráshtra. The Rájá had a hundred sons (the Kauravas or Kurus) of whom the eldest was Duryodhana; and there was great jealousy between the Pándavas and the Kurus, which was increased by the nomination of Yudhisthira as Yuvarája or viceroy of his uncle the Rájá, who was now blind. The tutor of all the young princes was a Bráhman named Drona; who had come to live at Hastinápura, on account of an insult received from the King of Panchála, a neighbouring principality.

The jealousy at length grew to such a pitch that Dhritaráshtra was persuaded to send away the Pándavas to Váranávata (the modern Allahábád). Here their cousin Duryodhana, the eldest of the Kauravas, endeavoured to destroy them by burning their house; but they fled, and were enabled to get away safely by a report that they had been burnt in the fire.

In the meantime Drupada, the King of Panchála, had proclaimed a Swayamvara (*see* below, § 24), to find a husband for his beautiful daughter Draupadí. The Pándavas attended; Arjuna won the lady, who became the joint wife of the five brothers In consequence of this powerful alliance, the Kauravas agreed to give up to the Pándavas a part of the realm of Hastinápura; and the latter built a capital for themselves at Indraprastha, the site of the modern Dehli.

Yudhishthira, the eldest of the Pándavas, being now triumphant, performed the great sacrifice called the Rájasúya (*see* below, § 24), to indicate his position as an independent Rájá.

Duryodhana now challenged Yudhishthira to a gambling-match. The latter lost all he possessed, and finally staked and lost himself and his wife Draupadí. The latter was grossly insulted by the victorious Kauravas, but was finally (by order of the blind old king Dhritaráshtra) allowed to depart with her five husbands; and they all went into exile for twelve years in the jungles.

In the thirteenth year of their exile they went in disguise to a city called Viráta, whose Rájá they helped in a war against the Kauravas. Krishna, afterwards worshipped as an *avatár* or incarna-

tion of Vishnu, had several times appeared as an ally of the Pándavas; and is represented as a hero or demi-god of the first rank. His part in the poem is so important that he has sometimes been considered the real hero of the Mahábhárata. He now endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the cousins, but failed; and thereupon followed the catastrophe of the whole poem.

The two parties, with their respective allies, met on the bloody field of Kurukshetra. Krishna, the Rájá of Viráta, and the Rájá of Panchála helped the Pándavas; Drona and the Rájá of Madra were the chief allies of the Kauravas; and on the battle-field appeared the ancestors of most of the princes of India of later times.

The battle lasted for eighteen days. All the Kurus except three were slain, when the fighting ended. These three, however, in the succeeding night treacherously murdered all the Pándava troops in their sleep, with the exception of the five brothers and their wife Draupadí.

The Pándavas were now triumphant, and Yudhishthira was Rájá of Hastinápura as well as of Indraprastha. But they were miserable at the loss of all their relatives. They resigned the kingdom, and with their wife retired to the Himálayas; where they were translated to heaven by Indra.

§ 11. There are many well-known and important episodes in the Mahábhárata. A beautiful philosophical dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna, just before the commencement of the great battle of Kurukshetra, is called the *Bhagavadgítá*. It is an illustration of Yoga doctrine (*see* below, § 37), and was probably a late addition to the poem.

Another beautiful episode is the legend of the lovely *Savitrí*, and her devoted love for her husband Satyavat. She ultimately saved him from the death to which he had been fated, by her importunity in demanding his life from Yama, god of death.

The most celebrated of these episodes is the exquisite story of *Nala and Damayantí*. Damayantí was the beautiful daughter of Bhima, king of Vidarbha or Barár (*see* Introduction, § 11); and Nala was the youthful Rájá of the neighbouring kingdom of Nishadha. They loved one another; and Nala won the hand of Damayantí at the Swayamvara, in spit of the opposition of four gods who also loved the damsel. Hereby he attracted the jealousy of the demon Kali, by whose machinations he subsequently lost all his possessions in gambling, and retired in despair to the jungles. He was accompanied by the faithful Damayantí; but deserted her in the forest at the instigation of the demon. The poem is mainly occupied with the wanderings of Damayantí, her return to her father's court, her long search for the lost Nala, and their final happy reunion.

The *Harivansa*, or Family of Vishnu, forms a sort of appendix to the Mahábhárata. It recounts the adventures of Krishna, and the fate of his family; but commences with an account of the creation of the world, and of the patriarchal and regal dynasties.

Another episode is *The Story of the Deluge of Manu*, corresponding to the Deluge of Noah. The story of Sakuntalá, the subject at a later period of a beautiful drama by Kálidása, (*see* § 110), also appears in the form of an episode in the Mahábhárata; and there are many others:—all the episodes occupying about three-fourths of the poem.

PART IV. THE RAMAYANA.

§ 12. The scene. § 13. The author. § 14. The youth of Ráma. § 15. Ráma's banishment. § 16. His wanderings. § 17. Sítá carried off by Rávana. § 18. The invasion of Ceylon.

§ 12. The scene of the Mahábhárata was mainly laid in the North-West of Hindústán; but the scene of the Rámáyana is far more extended in its range. The Aryan Hindús are represented in the Rámáyana, not only as possessing rich and powerful kingdoms in Ayodhya and Mithilá (the modern Oudh and Tirhút) but also as penetrating into the forests of Gondwána and the Dakhin, and even invading Lanká, the modern Ceylon. This is one of the reasons why it seems likely that the events referred to are of a later date than those referred to in the Mahábhárata.

§ 13. The author of the poem was Válmíki; he is thought by some to have lived in the age of Ráma, who is the hero of the legends.

§ 14. Ráma, afterwards worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu, was the eldest son of Dasaratha, king of the rich and prosperous city of Ayodhya or Oudh; of the race of Ikshwáku, said to be descended from the Sun, and hence called a solar race. He had a brother named Lakshmana; and two half-brothers, of whom one was Bharata the son of Kaikeyí, the second wife of Dasaratha. By snapping the great bow of Janaka, king of Mithilá, Ráma won for his bride the lovely Sítá, the daughter of Janaka; and his brothers married the three other princesses of Mithilá. Dasaratha, overjoyed at the heroism of his son, attended his nuptials; and on his return to Ayodhya, prepared to celebrate the elevation of Ráma to the dignity of Yuvarája or vice-king.

§ 15. At this time the happiness of the royal family was marred by the malice of a waiting-maid, who excited the jealousy of Queen Kaikeyí and induced her to demand the office of Yuvarája for her son Bharata. Dasaratha had long before promised Kaikeyí to grant her any two boons she pleased to ask; and the queen shut herself up with tears and shrieks in the *Krodhágára*,

or chamber of anger, until the old king consented, in the utmost misery, to banish Ráma for twice seven years, and to instal Bharata as Yuvarája.

Ráma piously prepared to obey his father's commands; and endeavoured to console his mother Kausalyá, his wife Sítá, and his brother Lakshmana. The two latter refused to leave him; and in their company, the hero left the city amid the wailings of the people.

§ 16. Every step of the wanderings of Ráma is well known by tradition, and the journey is annually traversed by thousands of pilgrims at the present day. From the banks of the Ghoghra he went to those of the Gumtí, thence to the Ganges in the neighbourhood of Allahábád, and thence into the district of Bandelkhand. Here he was affectionately visited by his brother Bharata, who had sternly refused to profit by the machinations of Kaikeyí; and by him he was told of the death of is father Dasaratha, and was implored to return and take the hingdom. Ráma refused, declaring that he must fulfil his father's vow; and for ten years he and Sítá and Lakshmana continued to wander from hermitage to hermitage in the great forest of Dandaka, probably the forests of Central India.

§ 17. At length the famous hermit Agastya [*see* § 91] presented Ráma with a bow and weapons of miraculous power, and advised him to live for the remainder of his exile at Janasthána on the banks of the Godávarí. These forests were at that time inhabited by Rákshasas [or monsters] and monkeys; who are generally believed to represent the aboriginal tribes [*see* § 3]. A woman among these Rákshasas fell in love with Ráma; and being repelled by him, invoked the vengeance of her brother Rávana, the demon king of Lanká or Ceylon. Rávana by a stratagem succeeded in carrying off the faithful Sítá to his palace in Lanká.

§ 18. Rama, in his pursuit of Rávana, was aided by the king of the Vultures, by Sugríva the king of the monkeys, and especially by Hanumat the monkey-general; under which names, again, there is doubtless concealed a reference to an alliance between Ráma, the Aryan invader of South India, and some of the aboriginal tribes. By the aid of the gods and the monkeys, a bridge was built from the mainland to Ceylon; and after many vicissitudes, Rávana was slain, and Sítá was recovered. Sítá, having undergone the trial by fire to prove that she had been faithful to her husband, was joyfully received by Ráma at the command of Agni, the god of fire; and the hero, accompanied by his wife and brother, by his monkey-allies, and by the brother of Rávana, who had joined the invaders, returned to Ayodhyá in triumph. They were received gladly by Bharata, who immediately surrendered to Ráma the kingdom which he had held in trust for him.

PART V. THE HISTORICAL LESSONS OF THE MAHABHARATA AND RAMAYANA.

§ 19. The legends have a foundation of fact. § 20. The comparative age of the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana. § 21. Manners of the period of the Mahábhárata. § 22. Period intervening between the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana. § 23. Manners of the age of the Ramáyana. § 24. The *Swayamvara*, the *Rájasúya*, the *Aswamedha*.

§ 19. As the Mahábhárata doubtless refers to real quarrels that occurred amongst the invading Aryans during their conquest of Hindústán, and to real struggles between those Aryans and the aboriginal tribes; so in the fabulous stories of the Rámáyana there is doubtless a reference to a real invasion of South India and Ceylon by an Aryan conqueror in very early times. No portion of these conquests was, however, retained by the Aryans; for long after, in B. C. 546, Ceylon was still inhabited by Rákshasas (*i. e.*, unconquered aborigines), who are said to have been subsequently conquered by the Hindú warrior Vijaya. Amongst the Dravidian races of the southern coast of India, there are still ancient families who bear the name of Ikshwáku or Okkáku, Ráma's ancestor.

§ 20 It has been stated [§ 9] that the events referred to in these poems occurred at various undefined periods in the Heroic Age of India. The compilation of parts of the Mahábhárata was probably later than that of the Rámáyana; but as a rule, the historical facts concealed under the legends probably refer to a much earlier time. The Aryans were, at the time referred to in the Mahábhárata, mainly settled in the upper valleys of the Ganges and Jamnah; whilst in the time of the Rámáyana, they had full and peaceable possession of Oudh, and were pushing their conquests into the South of India.

§ 21. The habits of the people described in the Mahábhárata were primitive; their patriarchal households, under the mild despotism of the head of the family or clan, were most simple in their arrangements. Even those who are described in the legends as Princes and Rájás, tended cattle and cleared land by burning down jungle; they marked the calves of their herds at stated periods, and regularly performed most of the usual labours of farmers and rustics. Their meals were also simple; they were prepared by the mother or wife, and women took their meals humbly after the men. Flesh-meat and wine appeared at their banquets. All the men of a clan were brought up together and trained to defend their crops and cattle against enemies and robbers; and thus they were all more or less proficient in pugilism, wrestling, archery, throwing stones, casting nooses, and the use of the rude weapons of the age. Other marks of this warlike period were:—(1) a wife was carried off as a prize by the conqueror of the husband; (2) the notion that a challenge to fight should always be accepted, that a third party should never

interfere whilst two combatants are fighting, that death is to be preferred to dishonour, and that revenge is more or less a virtuous action. The belief that the soul of a dead hero can be comforted by the society of a favourite female, appears to have been the origin of the later rite of *Satí*, or widow-burning; this revolting rite, however, was not established till many centuries later.* The most degrading custom of this early age was polyandry, or the marriage of one woman to many men, as exemplified in the case of Draupadí [*see* § 10.] The commonest vice was gambling.

§ 22. Between the age described in the Mahábhárata, and that described in the Rámáyana, many years and perhaps many centuries elapsed; during which the Aryan Hindús completed and settled their conquests in Hindústán. Of this period there is absolutely no history, except such as may be derived from the hints in the two poems themselves. Many of the episodes in the Mahábhárata, probably added at a later period, appear to refer to this time; wherein the Aryan heroes are described as fighting against the black-skinned aborigines, who are sometimes called Daityas, sometimes Asuras, and often represented as Rákshasas (monsters), or Nágas (serpents).

§ 23. In the Rámáyana, the habits of the people are described as much more civilised and even luxurious, than in the Mahábhárata. The primitive simplicity of the patriarchal household had disappeared; and though there is great exaggeration in the accounts, it appears certain that there must have been a good deal of wealth and luxury in the palaces of the Mahárájás. Polyandry no longer existed; nothing remained of it, except the Swayamvara [*see* § 24]. Polygamy (the marriage of one man to several women), and even monogamy (the marriage of one man to one woman, as in the case of Ráma and Sitá) had taken its place; and the main moral purpose of the Rámáyana was to expose the evils of polygamy, in the family quarrels that resulted from it in the palace of Dasaratha.

§ 24. Three remarkable customs or ceremonies frequently spoken of in the Epic Poems, remain to be described.

The SWAYAMVARA, or public choice of a husband by a damsel amongst many suitors, was not unknown in the earliest Vaidik times: for the two Aswins [*see* § 12] were said to have won their bride in this manner at a chariot race. In the same way Draupadí was won by the Pándavas, and Bhánumatí by Duryodhana, in archery contests; so also, Damayantí was won by Nala. The custom consisted in the father of a marriageable damsel inviting all the eligible suitors for her hand to a festive assembly; and that suitor who most distinguished himself was

* It is true that Mádrí, the favourite wife of Pándu, became *satí* on her husband's funeral pile, to prove that she was the best beloved, but this story is doubtless a later addition to the original legend, and no other instance occurs in the numerous stories of the Mahábhárata.

usually chosen as the husband. The *tournament*, in the chivalrous age of Europe, appears to have been a modified form of the Swayamvara.

The ceremony known as the RÁJASUYA, was partly a coronation-feast to celebrate the accession of a Rájá, or his triumph over neighbouring Rájás; and partly a religious sacrifice. Animals were sacrificed and roasted, and duly offered with hymns and invocations to the gods; and were also served up at the national banquet to the kinsmen, neighbours, and tributary Rájás.

Another ceremony, used for asserting supremacy or sovereignty, was the ASWÁMEDHA, or horse-sacrifice. It was more important than the Rájasúya, and indicated greater power on the part of the Rájá who performed it. A horse was taken of a black colour or else "pure white like the moon, with a yellow tail and a black right ear"; and was allowed by the Rájá to run loose, with certain public ceremonies. From that day and for a whole year, the horse was followed in its wanderings by the Rájá and his army. This was a direct challenge to every Rájá into whose territories the horse might wander. If the Rájá succeeded in conquering all the Rájás who resisted him, or who tried to take away the horse, he returned in triumph at the end of the year to his own city, attended by all the subdued chieftains; and the Aswamedha was brought to a close by the sacrifice of the horse, and a grand banquet in which the flesh of the horse was eaten by the Rájá and the most distinguished guests.

PART VI. THE RISE OF BRAHMANISM. THE LAWS OF MANU.

§ 25. The rise of the power of the Bráhmans. § 26. The Laws of Manu. § 27. Their date. § 28. The Caste system. § 29. The Government. § 30. The Village system. § 31. The Administration of Justice. § 32. Religion. § 33. General features of the period described in Manu.

§ 25. The Aryan conquest of Hindústán, effected during the period treated of in the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana, was mainly carried out whilst the Bráhmans were employed as mere animal sacrificers, and before they had attained political power. During the rise of the Aryan Hindú empires, the Bráhmans may have occasionally struggled to assert their supremacy; but in so doing they met with considerable opposition from the Mahárájás. In the early times, the latter were their own priests; and marriage rites were performed, not by a Bráhman, but by the father of the bride. Gradually, as the Aryan conquests became more settled, and wealth and luxury increased, sacrifices became larger, and the Mahárájás began to employ priests as their substitutes in religious ceremonies. In this way the Bráhmans

came to be regarded as the medium of [illegible]nication between the people and their gods They [illegible] practised astrology, and to have assumed the pos[illegible]tural powers. Finally, they asserted for themel[illegible] from Brahmá, the creator, whom they now ex[illegible] the Vaidik deities; and consequently took upon th[illegible] down the popular gods, to prescribe new religious [illegible] to introduce numerous rites of purification an[illegible] They were now necessarily present at the cere[illegible]ation with every birth, marriage, and death [illegible] incantations of the Bráhmans were supposed to [illegible]sary to insure the long life and prosperity o[illegible] families; to procure a favourable seed-time a[illegible] harvest; to [illegible]ate the success of every undertak[illegible] the water of wells and strengthen the foundatio[illegible] ing-houses; and to ward off every danger. In th[illegible] gradually acquired that power over the minds of t[illegible] which was shown in the Laws of Manu (the *Menava Sástra*), and which made them the most despotic priesthood known in history. It appears more than doubtful wheth[illegible] Bráhmans ever really possessed, even in the age to which Laws of Manu refer, all that influence which is ascribed them in the laws; but that their power became very great ca[illegible] hardly be do[illegible]bted.

§ 26. The laws of Manu are one of the Smritis, or Dharmasástras [*see* § 106] They were compiled long after the full establishment of the power of the Bráhmans; and hence labour to magnify that power in every way They afford a good general view of the state of India and of Indian society, as it existed from that period to the time of Buddhist rule—*i. e.*, for several centuries *before* 300 B. C.

§ 27. The actual date of compilation was probably about 300 B. C., or even later; indeed it is expressly stated in Manu that extensive portions of India and powerful kingdoms were in the power of heretics, obviously referring to the Buddhists [*see* § 66-74]. The Aryans had now conquered the whole of Hindústán from Gujarát to Bengal; but the Bráhmans had not probably advanced further to the east than Kanauj on the Ganges. The Aryans were directed to choose their Bráhman preceptors from Brahmarshi-Desa, the country of Bráhman Rishis [*see* § 6].

§ 28. The distinct and authoritative settlement of the caste system is one of the most prominent features of the laws of Manu. The four castes were:—(1) the Bráhman, or priestly caste; (2) the Kshatriya, or military caste; (3) the Vaisya, or industrial caste; (4) the Sudra, or servile caste. The three first castes were called "twice-born;" and all the laws tend to their elevation and to the depression of the Sudras.

The most striking points in the caste system as it existed at the time of these laws were:

First, the extraordinary dignity and sanctity accorded to the Bráhmans, for whose good all other persons and all things were thought to be made; some of their privileges were also enjoyed, but in a far smaller degree, by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.

Secondly, the bitter contempt and even hatred felt and displayed against Sudras; their only duty was to serve the other castes, and especially the Bráhmans; but if they were unable to obtain any service, then they were allowed to earn a precarious subsistence (but never to get rich) by means of handicrafts. This degraded condition of the Sudras seems to indicate that they were the remains of conquered races, the conquerors being the "twice-born" [*see* § 3.]

Thirdly, the absence of any provision for the regular performance of the mechanical arts and handicrafts, when the Sudras were able to find service as prescribed in the law. These functions were probably performed, as now, by the *mixed castes*,—*i. e.*, the castes formed by intermarriages between the four original castes.

It may be noted that the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes are said by some to be now extinct; though the Rájpúts and a few other tribes claim to be descended from the former, and a few industrial tribes call themselves Vaisyas. The great majority of Hindús now belong to the mixed castes; which castes maintain their caste distinctions with even more care than was formerly exhibited by the original castes.

§ 29. The government in the various States was under a Rájá; whose power was despotic according to the arrangements of Manu, except that he was bound to abide by the advice of the Bráhmans. It is a noteworthy fact that as the power of the Bráhmans increased, the jurisdiction of the Rájás became more despotic.

Under the king were the lords of 1,000 villages; under each of the latter were lords of 100 villages,—the hundred villages corresponding to what is called a Parganah. Under these again were the headmen of the villages, the *Mandals*, or *Patels*; and all those officers were regarded as officers of the Rájá.

§ 30. In the village communities, the system of administration seems to have been almost identical with that which has prevailed in India for ages. The headman settled with the Rájá the sum to be paid as revenue; apportioned these payments amongst the villagers; and was answerable for these payments and for the good conduct of the village. He held a portion of land rent-free, and he also received fees from the villagers, and was sometimes paid a salary by the Government. In all disputes he acted as umpire, assisted by arbitrators named by the disputants. The headman was assisted by various other officials, of whom the chief were the accountant and the watchman: all these officials were paid by fees, by assignments of rent-free land, and sometimes by salaries.

§ 31. The Laws of Manu regarding crimes were very rude, but not cruel; those regarding property were fair and good; and

in both, directions were given about the most minute matters of daily life. The worst points were the favour shown to the higher castes, and the oppression of the Sudras.

§ 32. The same evils appeared in the religious and ceremonial laws, in which everything was done to exalt the Bráhmans. Otherwise, the religious doctrines were not very different from those of the Vedas: the gods worshipped were nearly the same; the gods worshipped in later times, Vishnu, Siva, &c., were never mentioned; and their incarnations or *avatárs* (Ráma, Krishna, &c.), were never alluded to. Satí was not thought of; indeed the widows of Bráhmans were enjoined to live a virtuous and holy life.

§ 33. High regard for immemorial custom is an important feature in the laws of Manu. The marriage laws were fair and just; the wife was commanded strictly to obey her husband, and other women to obey their natural guardians; but every provision was made for the welfare of the female sex. Bráhmans were ordered to divide their lives into four portions: in their youth, they were to be students, and to observe celibacy; in the second portion of their lives, they were to live with their wives as householders, and discharge the ordinary duties of Bráhmans; in the third portion, they were to live as hermits in the woods, and submit to very severe penances; in the fourth, they were to engage solely in contemplation, and were freed from all ceremonial observances. The arts of life in this period, though still in a simple state, were not rude; and the numerous professions spoken of (goldsmith, carvers, artists, &c.) show that the people possessed most things necessary to civilisation.

PART VII. THE HINDU SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

§ 34. Rise of the Schools of Philosophy. § 35. The Upanishads. § 36. The six Darsanas, or systems of Philosophy. § 37. The Sánkhya and Yoga. § 38. The Nyáya and Vaiseshika. § 39. The Purva Mimánsá, and Uttara Mimánsá or Vedánta.

§ 34. The Hindús have always been fond of the study of philosophy; and as this study has much influenced their national character, and has even been supposed by some to have produced the great religious and political movement called Buddhism [*see* Part VIII], it is necessary for the young student to pay some attention to its history. The schools of philosophy were not mentioned by Manu; but some observations on philosophy prove that the philosophic discussions, which ultimately gave rise to these schools, were already perfectly familiar to the Hindús. No precise date can be assigned to the schools of philosophy. When the Bráhmans were thoroughly settled in their power, the life of

contemplation, which they were enjoined to lead for many years, doubtless encouraged them to devote their attention to metaphysical questions; and hence we may presume that the schools of philosophy, or some of them, began about the period at which we have now arrived.

§ 35. In addition to the early parts of the Vedas, called the Sanhitas and the Bráhmanas [*see* § 2], there were many later writings founded on, or added to, the Vedas [*see* § 106]. Of these the most important are the UPANISHADS, or theological tracts, embodied in the Bráhmanas, and dealing with philosophical speculations. These may be regarded as the foundation of all the Hindú schools of philosophy. They reveal the attempt of the Hindú mind to attain to the comprehension of one Supreme Being. They recognized that man belongs to the perishable world around, and also to the eternal world beyond; and they proceed to investigate the powers or faculties with which he is endowed, and to enquire how these powers may be used to procure escape from the perishable world, and the attainment of the eternal world.

§ 36. The result of this thought appeared in the six philosophic systems, or *Darsanas*. The metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, seems to be the fundamental doctrine of all these schools; and the object of all the systems, like that of Buddhism, seems to be "the discovery of the means of putting a stop to further transmigration,' and the attainment of rest or happiness in some form or other. They all agree also that this end is to be attained only by a knowledge of truth. The six systems may be grouped as three pairs—each pair having more or less a method of its own. The first pair consists of (1) the *Sankhya* system of Kapila; to which (2) the *Yoga* system of Patanjali is supplementary. The second pair consists of (3) the *Nyáya* system of Gautama, to which (4) the *Vaiseshika* system of Kanáda is supplementary. And the third pair consists of (5) the *Purva-Mimánsá* by Jaimini, to which (6) the *Uttara-Mimánsá* or Vedánta, by Vyása, is supplementary.

§ 37. The Sánkhya doctrines are mainly contained in the aphorisms of Kapila, and appear to be fundamentally *atheistic*. Kapila's attention is mainly devoted to the fact that man, and indeed all Nature, is transitory; but that the soul is immortal, and may be freed from its association with Nature. Patanjali, the author of the Yoga system, proceeds by somewhat the same method, but insists emphatically on the existence of a God—hence his is called the *theistic* system.

§ 38. The Nyáya system of Gautama and the Vaiseshika system of Kanáda are sometimes called the logical systems. Gautama, in the Nyáya philosophy, developed a fairly complete system of logic and psychology. He took especial note of man's mental powers, and of the uses to which those powers may be applied. He held that God is the Supreme Soul, the seat of knowledge, the maker of all things. Kanáda, in the Vaiseshika system, held that the universe consists of temporary or transit

collections of atoms—these atoms being themselves imperishable and eternal—hence his is called the *atomic* system.

§ 39. The Purvá-Mimánsá is called *purva*, or former, because it teaches the art of reasoning with the express object of interpreting the *former* Vedas—*viz.*, the Sanhitás and Bráhmanas. Its aim is essentially religious, and it derives all things from God.

The Uttara-Mimánsá, or Vedánta, is called *uttara*, or latter, because it is devoted to the interpretation of the latter part of the Vedas—*viz.*, the Upanishads. Vyása in this system, like Jaimini in the Purva-Mimánsá, derives all things from God. He teaches that the Universe emanates from Brahma, or *Paramátman*, the Supreme Soul; that man's soul is identical in origin with the Supreme Soul, and that emancipation, or freedom from transmigration, will be attained so soon as man knows his soul to be one with the Supreme Soul.

It should be noted that all six systems of philosophy regard the Vedas as sacred and authoritative; but the two Mimánsás look upon the Vedas as the absolute Revelation of the will of God.

PART VIII. THE BUDDHIST PERIOD. THE RISE OF BUDDHISM, ABOUT B. C. 477.

§ 40. Character of the history of the Buddhist Period. § 41. Origin of Buddhism. § 42. Buddhism, a Social and Moral Reform. § 43. Doctrines of Buddhism. § 44. Life of Buddha. § 45. The Buddhist Councils, and the *Tripitaka*.

§ 40. With the rise of Buddhism, the student enters upon a period whose history is, in many ways, very different from the history which he has hitherto been reading. During the Vaidik period, during the Heroic period, and during the early Bráhmanic period, the history has been solely derived from the accounts of the Hindús themselves; its only materials have been the religious books, or the semi-religious Epics of the Hindús, and no dates can be fixed with even a fair *probability*. The early Vaidik religion and its modification under the Bráhmans were confined to the Hindús; these religions, so far from sending out missionaries to convert foreign nations, actually refused (as we have noticed in our accounts of the Sudras; *see* Part VI.) to receive even the conquered tribes of India as converts, except under degrading conditions. Hence the Hindús, during these early ages, were almost entirely isolated. But in the Buddhist period, the state of things was different. Buddhism arose in India; but it soon spread into Ceylon, Thibet, Barmah, Siam, and even into China, Mongolia and Northern Asia. In this way, extended inter-

course arose between these countries and India. Pilgrims from many foreign parts visited India as the country of the founder of their faith [*see* § 87]; and from their accounts, and from the sacred books of these foreign countries, much may be learned about India. Above all, early in the Buddhist period, the Greeks invaded India [*see* § 48]; shortly afterwards, Greek ambassadors resided at the court of an Indian king; and from the date of these events, which are known from Greek history, we can settle the dates of all events immediately connected with them. Hence, for the first time in this history, we are able to put a date at the head of this Part—*viz.*, the date of the death of Buddha, which has thus been shown with very little doubt to be about 477 B. C.

§ 41. We have seen [§ 34] that the contemplative habits of the Bráhmans produced after a time many systems of philosophy, which were also, in a way, systems of religion. All these systems were naturally, in the hands of Bráhmans, founded on the Vedas. But it is probable that these enquiries were not altogether confined to the Bráhmans; the results of the systems were doubtless sometimes communicated to other castes. At any rate, a clever and philanthropic Kshatriya (Buddha) engaged in these half philosophic, half religious speculations, without the aid of the Vedas; he became a devotee and a preacher of his doctrines; and he was the founder of a religion and of a political movement which has had an enormous effect on the history of the whole of Asia.

§ 42. The spread of Buddhism was probably mainly owing to the fact that it was a social reform, and to its pure and simple morality; rather than to the strength of its religious doctrines. The former appealed to the interests and the feelings of the common people; the latter could only be understood by the learned.

Buddhism denied the obligations of caste.* It thereby attempted to deliver the Sudras and the mixed-castes and the out-castes from the oppression to which they had been subjected under the Bráhmanic system [*see* § 28]; and though, after the fall of Buddhism many centuries later, the dignity and sanctity of Bráhmans were restored, yet it appears that these pretensions were not accompanied by any revival of the grosser oppression of early times. Here then was a great social reform. Again, its morality was pure and simple. It declared that the only method by which man could elevate himself in the scale of being, and obtain rest from the transmigrations of the soul, was not by the search after truth, as the Sánkhya and other philosophies affirmed —not by penances and animal sacrifices and other ceremonial observances, as some of the Bráhmans had taught—but simply by the practice of the great virtues, truth, purity, honesty, and (above all) *Maitri*, or charity and universal benevolence.

* The student may notice that Buddhism was not successful in entirely doing away with caste; indeed, it appears to have actually introduced the caste system into Ceylon.

§ 43. It is not necessary for the young student to trouble himself much about the philosophical doctrines of Buddhism. Broadly its teaching were that there is nothing but sorrow in life; that sorrow is produced by our affections; that our affections must be destroyed, in order to destroy the root of sorrow; and that man may destroy all affections, all passions, all desires, by *contemplation;* whereby ultimately he may obtain NIRVANA, or annihilation. This *Nirvána* was the great aim of Buddhism; and has even been described by some later degenerate Buddhists as a sort of heaven.

§ 44. Sákya Muni, or Gautama, afterwards known as *Buddha*, or the enlightened, was a Kshatriya. He was the son of the Rájá of Kapilavastu, a kingdom probably situated in Gorakhpur, or Nepál, at the foot of the Himálaya mountains, north of Oudh. As a boy, he was beautiful and accomplished. As a youth, he was remarkable for his love of contemplation; but he is represented as also distinguished for his courage and strength. His wife was the beautiful Gopá.

His contemplations impressed him with the shortness and misery of life, and the vanity of earthly happiness. These impressions were confirmed by his observations, whilst he was being driven about his father's city in his chariot, of the misery and death around him, contrasted with the calmness and freedom from care displayed by a certain *bhikshu* or begging devotee, whom he met at the gate of the city. He soon left his father's palace, in order to become a devotee. He became the pupil successively of two famous Bráhmans; but could find no happiness or salvation in their teaching. He then betook himself to a hermitage for six years, subjecting himself to severe penances; but he was at length convinced that he could not obtain salvation in this way, and he gave up his penances.

He was now deserted by the five followers who had attended him in the hermitage. Left to himself, he continued to ponder how he might obtain deliverance from the evils of life. At length he arrived at the conclusions which have been described above as the doctrines of Buddhism; and from this moment he claimed the title of Buddha.

He at first went to Benares, where he made many converts. He was then invited to Rájagriha, the capital of Magadha, by the king Bimbisára, who was his friend and disciple for many years. Bimbisára was at length assassinated by his son Ajátasatru; and Buddha had to retire to Srávasti, the capital of Kosala, where the king became a convert. He returned at one time to Kapilavastu, where also he converted all his family the Sákyas. Finally, his great enemy Ajátasatru, king of Magadha, became a disciple; and hospitably entertained the prophet, now an old man of seventy. At last, on his return from a visit to Rájagriha, he halted in a forest near the town of Kusinágara; whilst sitting under a sál-tree, he "entered into *Nirvána*."

§ 45. The doctrines of Buddha rapidly spread. A Buddhist Council, or meeting of the chief followers of the faith, was held shortly after his death. Another council followed it; and a third was held in the seventeenth year of the reign of king Asoka, [*see* § 69.], when Buddhism had become the state or royal religion of India. At one or other of these councils, the sacred books, or holy scriptures of the Buddhists, were drawn up. They were called the *Tri-Pitaka*, or Three Baskets.

PART IX. THE INVASIONS OF DARIUS AND ALEXANDER B. C. 521—B. C. 326.

§ 46. Nature of the History. § 47. Persian Invasion under Darius. § 48. The Greek Invasion under Alexander. § 49. The Battle of the Jhelam. § 50. Advance of Alexander to the Satlaj. § 51. His Retreat. § 52. The Voyage of Nearchus.

§ 46. The Persian and Greek invasions and the events that arose out of them form a sort of parenthesis in the Buddhist period; though the Bráhmanical religion was still predominant in India, down to the time of Alexander. Our knowledge of these invasions is derived from the Greek historians; and also (for the subsequent events) from coins which have been discovered, bearing the names and some brief accounts of the kings [*see* § 55].

§ 47. Darius Hystaspes (*Darawesh* or *King* Gushtásp was his Persian name) was nearly contemporary with Buddha. In the years 521—518 B. C., he invaded India; crossing the Indus over a bridge of boats constructed by his Greek Admiral Skylax. The latter sailed down the Indus, and returned home either by the Persian Gulf or by the Red Sea. There are no accounts of the details of this invasion; but some of the provinces of India—probably only a few on the banks of the Indus—were made into a Persian *satrapy* (a province governed by a *satrap* or viceroy). It is remarkable, considering that India produces little gold in modern times, that the tribute sent to Darius from his Indian satrapy was in gold; and furnished a large portion of the gold of the royal Persian treasures.

§ 48. Alexander the Great (called in India *Iskandar* or *Sikandar*), king of Macedon, at the head of an army of Macedonians and other Greeks, conquered Darius, king of Persia, in the year 331 B. C. He spent four years in subduing some of the other provinces of the Persian empire in Bilúchistán, Kábul, and Túrkistán; and in 327 B. C., he proceeded to invade India. Having established the Greek supremacy in Bactria (the modern Balkh—north of the Hindú Kush Mountains, which run through the northern part of Kábul or Afghánistán, and partly divide it from Turkistán), he then marched through Kábul, and

reached the Indus at Attock, in the extreme north of the Panjáb. He crossed the Indus without opposition; and on its eastern bank received the submission of Taxiles, a powerful prince who ruled over the country from the Indus to the Jhelam. The Jhelam was called the Hydaspes by the Greeks. In his passage of this river near Gujarát (the scene of the final great defeat of the Síkhs in 1849, see Chapter XI., § 28), Alexander was opposed by a Rájá, the name of whose race or dynasty was Paurava, called by the Greeks Porus.

§ 49. In the great battle of the Jhelam or Hydaspes that followed, the Indian army was more numerous than the Greek; and had moreover the advantage of two hundred elephants and three hundred war-chariots. The Indians fought bravely, according to the account of the Greeks; but they were unable to withstand the discipline of Alexander's army. The two sons of Porus were killed, and his army utterly routed. Alexander, pleased with the courage of Porus, treated him kindly. He not only restored him to his kingdom, but also enlarged its extent; and Porus was henceforth a faithful ally of the Greeks.

§ 50. From this point Alexander proceeded eastward, crossing the Acesines and the Hydraotes (the Chináb and the Rávi, see Introduction § 4). He pushed on to the Hyphasis (the Satlaj), in the hope of being able to march on Palibothra, of whose magnificence as the capital of the powerful realm of the Prasii (doubtless Magadha, *see* § 68) he had heard. His soldiers could not be induced, either by entreaties or threats, to advance beyond the Satlaj; and Alexander was compelled unwillingly to return, making the Panjáb the extreme limit of his conquests.

§ 51. His first care was to construct a fleet to convey his troops down the Satlaj to the Indus, and thus home. Part of the army embarked, and sailed with great pomp down the Indus; part marched along the banks; until at last he came to a place named Patála, supposed to have been near the mouth of the river. On his road he met with many difficulties and much opposition; especially from the warlike tribe of the Malli (believed to have lived in the neighbourhood of Multán), in fighting against whom he received a severe wound.

§ 52. He was treated in a friendly way by the people in the neighbourhood of Patála; and here he founded a city, in which he left a Greek garrison. He then ordered his Admiral Nearchus to proceed home by sea, whilst he himself, with a part of his army, marched back to his Persian dominions through the wild deserts of Gedrosia (Bilúchistán). Nearchus sailed from the mouth of the Indus in 326 B. C., and arrived at the mouth of the Euphrates, after a memorable voyage of which Alexander was justly proud. The great conqueror fully meant to return to complete the subjugation of India; but he died shortly afterwards, at Babylon, in the year 323 B. C.

PART X. THE BACTRIAN AND SCYTHIAN DYNASTIES, B. C. 312—A. D. 73.

§ 53. Invasion of Seleucus. § 54. Foundation of the Greek kingdom of Bactria. § 55. Coins the chief materials of the history. § 56. War with Antiochus the Great. § 57. The *Sotér*, *Nike*, and *Sáh* dynasties. § 58. The Scythian dynasty.

§ 53. The kingdoms grouped under the name of Syria including the province of Bactria [*see* § 48] and a claim to Alexander's Indian conquests, fell to the lot of Seleucus, one of the best of the Macedonian Generals. Sandracottus was now king of the Prasii, according to the Greek accounts, having taken Palibothra from the former king [*see* § 50.] This king was, doubtless, the Hindú Rájá Chandragupta, who had seized the kingdom of Magadha, after the massacre of the survivors of the Nanda dynasty; and whose capital was Pátaliputra [*see* § 68]. Seleucus marched against Chandragupta as far as the Ganges. Whether a battle was fought or not appears to be uncertain; but a treaty was made. Seleucus gave the king of Magadha his daughter in marriage, and gave up to him the provinces east of the Indus in return for a tribute of fifty elephants. Megásthenes was appointed the Greek ambassador at the court of Magadha; and has given full accounts of the Indians of that period [*see* § 59]. The identity of Sandracottus and Chandragupta has been proved beyond a reasonable doubt; and the young student should remember that it is this identification which has afforded us the connecting link between the accounts of the Hindús and those of the Greeks, and which has consequently enabled us to form a chronology of this period of Indian history.

§ 54. In the reign of Antiochus Sotér, who succeeded his father Seleucus in the Syrian monarchy, Theodotus, the Governor of Bactria, rebelled; and, notwithstanding the fact that Chandragupta aided Antiochus in return for the cession of some more territory on the Indus, the rebel succeeded (probably in the reign of Antiochus II.) in asserting his independence. He became the founder of the Greek empire of Bactria, which at this time included those portions of Túrkistán, Afghánistán, and Bilúchistán which had remained in the possession of the Greeks.

§ 55. The accounts of the Bactrian dynasties, handed down to us by the Greek historians, were very slight, and did not indicate that they had very much influence in India; but the historical discoveries that have been made in the investigation of numerous coins found mainly in the Panjáb and Afghánistán, show that these dynasties were always intimately connected with India. A few of the earlier coins bear the emblems of Alexander's immediate successors, and the inscriptions on them are in Greek: but the later coins bear double inscriptions—one in Greek, the

other in a degenerate form of Sanskrit, or in some other oriental language—and the emblems are the elephant, or the humped cow of India. The inscriptions on the coins, their distribution, and other facts discovered about them, have largely increased our knowledge of those obscure dynasties which for centuries maintained a connexion between the Hindú and the Grecian worlds.

§ 56. Theodotus II., the son of the founder of the first Bactrian dynasty, was deposed by another Greek named Euthydemus. Antiochus the Great, King of Syria, invaded Bactria, and reduced Euthydemus to submission; but finally confirmed him in his kingdom. Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, was the fourth king. He made extensive conquests in Persia, and also on the Gujarát coast of India; but was finally dispossessed, first of Bactria Proper, and afterwards of his Indian dominions, by Eukratidas.

§ 57. In the time of Eukratidas, the Bactrian power was at its height. He was the first of the *Sotér* dynasty—so called from that title being given to them on the coins. The Parthians from the west, and the Saká-Scythians from the remote regions of Northern Transoxiana, began to press on the empire; and in the reign of the next king, Eukratidas II., the Saka-Scythians took possession of the whole of Bactria Proper. This happened about the year 126 B. C.; and from this period the Sotér dynasty was confined to its Indian possessions, including Sind, part of the North-West Provinces, the Panjáb, and Afghánistán. Menander was the most successful and powerful monarch of this dynasty.

In the latter part of the rule of the Sotérs, another Greek dynasty, called the Niké dynasty, became established in a portion of these dominions.

A third dynasty, the Sáh, ruled in Gujarát for many centuries. They appear to have been at first dependent on the Bactrian dynasty, of which they were probably Hindú (some say Parthian) vassals. They were probably at first Buddhists. A celebrated cave-temple between Púna and Bombay was erected by Náhápána, the founder of this dynasty, in combination with Rájá Devábhuti of the Sangá dynasty [*see* § 72]. The Sáhs were conquered by the Vallabhi dynasty, called Gupta, about 318 A. D. [*see* § 83.] It is believed by some that the Sáhs were the same as the Yue-Chi dynasty, mentioned in § 82.

§ 58. At length the Bactrian kingdom appears to have been finally overthrown by the Scythians about the year 57 B. C. The latter established a semi-Greek kingdom in Western India; and were finally subdued by Vikramáditya, king of Ujjain, about the year 78 A. D.

PART XI.—GREEK ACCOUNTS OF INDIA.

§ 59. Palibothra. § 60. Divisions of India. § 61. The Caste System. § 62. Hermits. § 63. Prosperous Administration. § 64. Learning and the Arts. § 65. General Remarks.

§ 59. Greek historians have preserved for us accounts of India and the Indians, as they appeared to them at the time of Alexander's invasion and during the reign of Seleucus—*i.e.*, about the years B. C. 327—312. Of these accounts the most important was that of Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta at Magadha [*see* § 53]; which account has been preserved in parts, in the works of Arrian, a writer of the 2nd century, A. D. Megasthenes called the people of Magadha, the *Prasii;* and their capital, Pátaliputra, he called *Palibothra.* This city, according to his account, was situated at the confluence of the Erannoboas and the Ganges; and was of immense size, surrounded by high walls, with five hundred and seventy towers and sixty-four gates. Pátaliputra has been identified by some with Patna, by others with Allahábád.

§ 60. The power of Sandracottus (Chandragupta) is represented as having been very extensive; yet there were no less than one hundred and eighteen independent States in various parts of India.

§ 61. The Greeks give us an account of the division of the Hindús into castes; and state that the members of a caste were not allowed to marry into any other caste. They make an error in the enumeration of the castes, which they describe as follows: — (1) Sophists, or Brachmanes (Bráhmans); (2) the Revenue Officers; (3) the Ministers of State; (4) Soldiers (Kshatriyas); (5) Husbandmen (Vaisyas); (6) Artificers and Tradesmen (the mixed castes of Manu); and (7) Shepherds living on hills and hunting game. Of these seven, the first three classes were probably all Bráhmans; the seventh probably referred to the remains of the aboriginal tribes, the hillmen of the present day [*see* Introduction, § 24]; and the Sudras are omitted altogether. With regard to the Sudras, it is highly worthy of note that they had probably by this time ceased to be treated harshly as slaves; for the Greeks are unanimous in saying that slavery did not exist in India.

§ 62. The severity of the asceticism practised by the hermits of India struck the Greeks with astonishment. These hermits were probably sometimes Bráhmans in the third stage of their life (*Vanaprastha*), and sometimes members of the established monastic orders. One of these hermits, named Çalanus, was persuaded by Alexander to accompany him in his return from India; but falling sick in Persia, he refused to take the Persian remedies, and ascended the funeral pile, to the surprise and admiration of the Greeks.

§ 63. The presents made by the Indian princes indicate wealth; and the whole country appears to have been in a prosperous state. There were numerous commercial cities and ports for foreign trade. The police was excellent; and both life and property were fairly safe. Justice was administered by the king and his ministers. The village system [*see* § 30] was noticed by the Greeks, who regarded these communities as Republics.

§ 64. The Indians were described as learned; and their system of philosophy was already fully developed. Architecture and music seem to have been neglected; but the arts of life seem to have been generally much in the state in which they are at present. The magnificence of Indian festivals, the fineness and whiteness of their clothes (which consisted of the *dhoti* and the *chaddar*, as now in Bengal), the brilliancy of their dyes, were all noticed; and the mode of agriculture practised, and the crops grown, were exactly the same as at the present day.

§ 65. The most striking points about the Greek accounts are:—(1) their general agreement with the accounts in Manu; (2) the little change that has since occurred during two thousand years; (3) the favourable impression which the manners and condition of the Hindús made on the Greeks. The men are described as braver than any Asiatics whom the Greeks had yet met, and singularly truthful. They are said to be sober, temperate, and peaceable; remarkable for simplicity and integrity; honest and averse to litigation. The practice of widows becoming *sati* had already been introduced, but probably only partially, for it is spoken of by Aristobulus as one of the extraordinary local peculiarities which he heard of at Taxila.

PART. XII. THE BUDDHIST PERIOD CONTINUED. THE MAURYAN DYNASTY OF MAGADHA AND THEIR SUCCESSORS, B. C. 477-31.

§ 66. The early kings of Magadha. § 67. The Nanda Dynasty. § 68. Chandragupta, founder of the Mauryan Dynasty. § 69. Asoka. § 70. The Edicts of Asoka. § 71. The later Mauryan Kings. § 72. The Sangá Dynasty. § 73. The Kanwá Dynasty, and the Decline of Buddhism. § 74. The Kingdoms of Mithilá, Gaur, and Kanauj.

§ 66. In the Mahábhárata, mention was made of Saha-deva, king of Magadha. A long line of kings, of various dynasties, more or less mythical, is said to have succeeded him. The thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth kings in this line were Bimbisára and Ajátasatru, the contemporaries of Buddha, about 500 B. C. to 477 B. C.

§ 67. The sixth king from Ajátasatru was called Nanda; and he founded a Sudra dynasty, of which nine successive kings all called Nanda, reigned in succession. One of these Nandas,

was reigning at Pátaliputra at the time of Alexander's invasion; and the fame of his power and riches attracted the envy of Alexander [*see* § 50]. He is called Nanda the Rich.

§ 68. In the disorganisation that succeeded the retreat of Alexander from the Panjáb, a man of low birth named CHANDRAGUPTA made himself master of that province. Soon afterwards, aided by a Bráhman intrigue against the Sudra king Nanda, he succeeded in mastering the great kingdom of Magadha; and became the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, which was the first that acquired, in Indian history, a decided pre-eminence over all the other principalities of the country. During the reign of Chandragupta, the Páli language (the form of Sanskrit at that time spoken in Magadha) began to be cultivated: it ultimately became the chief sacred language of the Buddhists. The invasion of Seleucus, and the embassy of Megasthenes, have already been noticed [§ 53, 59]. At the time when Megasthenes was at Pátaliputra, there were many independent kings in India; but gradually during the long and prosperous reigns of Chandragupta (twenty-four years, from B. C. 315 to B. C. 291) and his son and successor Bindusára (twenty-eight years from B. C. 291 to B. C. 263), most of the princes of Northern India seem to have been reduced to submission.

§ 69. ASOKA, the son of Bindusára, succeeded about the year 263 B. C., and reigned for about forty years, until the year 223 B. C. He assumed the name of *Piyadasi*, or *Priyadarsin*. His reign is the most important and the most clearly identified epoch in early Indian history, for the following reasons: *first*, during this reign Buddhism became the State religion, having been proclaimed as such at a great Buddhist Council (the third since the time of Buddha) held under the patronage of Asoka in the seventeenth year of his reign [*see* § 45]; *secondly*, Asoka undoubtedly largely extended the conquests of his father Bindusára and his grandfather Chandragupta; his edicts that have been found (of which we shall speak presently) prove that his kingdom extended from the valley of Peshâwar and the Kábul river and Kashmír, to Surat on the west of India, and to Bengal, Orissa, and Telingánah on the east.

§ 70. *Thirdly*, the history of the reign of Asoka is far more authentic and clearly ascertained than any of the preceding history. All the literature of Buddhism speaks of this reign in some detail; but what is far more important, numerous inscriptions made by the order of Asoka, and commonly called his EDICTS, have been discovered in various parts of India. These inscriptions furnish the first safe standing-ground for the history of Buddhism, almost the first for the history of India; as they are absolutely contemporaneous and undoubtedly authentic records. They relate to many and various matters; being frequently political and religious manifestoes, and statements of Asoka's policy and principles of government, *e.g.*, the constitution of civil and criminal Courts, and the abolition of capital punishments. The most celebrated

of them are (1) at Girnar, in Káthíwár; (2) at Kapurdigiri, near Peshávar, at the north of the Panjáb; (3) at Dhauli, in Orissa; and (4) on *Láths*, or pillars at Dehli and Allahábád. These are all in the Pálí language.

§ 71. Seven Buddhist kings of the Mauryan dynasty reigned successively after Asoka down to the year 195 B. C. Under them Magadha rose to great eminence; splendid roads ran across the country from Pátaliputra to the Indus and to Gujarát.

§ 72. The Mauryan dynasty appears to have been succeeded by the Sangá Rájás. The first prince of the Sangá family, Puspamitra, built one of the great Buddhist topes at Sanchi in B. C. 188. This dynasty has left many similar memorials in various parts of India. It appears to have expired with Rájá Devábhuti about the year 86 B. C.

§ 73. Four Buddhist kings of the Kanwá dynasty probably succeeded the Sangá, and reigned till about the year 31 B. C. But long before this, numerous other rival powers had sprung up in various parts of India; and the power of Buddhism was now on the decline.

§ 74. Of the rival powers referred to in the last section, some were the remains of the old Hindú kingdom, whose dynasties claimed to date from the heroic times of the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana. Amongst these, the student should remember the kingdom of Mithilá, or Benares, of whose princely house Sítá, the wife of Ráma, was a daughter [*see* § 14]; the kingdom of Gaur, in Bengal, of which we shall hear more presently; and the kingdom of Kanauj, in Oudh (called in heroic times Panchála) whose kings remained devoted to Bráhmanism throughout the centuries of Buddhist rule in India, and who protected the Bráhmans when they were proscribed elsewhere [*see* § 83].

PART XIII. THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM, AND THE BRAHMANIC REVIVAL.

FROM ABOUT 200 B. C. TO ABOUT 1200 A. D.

§ 75. The decline of Buddhism. § 76. The Jainas. § 77. Materials for the history of this period. § 78. The Puránas. § 79. The Agnikulas. § 80. The Andhra Dynasty. § 81. Vikramáditya. § 82. The Yue-chi Dynasty. § 83. The Gupta Dynasty of Vallabhi, the Rahtors, the Chauras, and the Salonkas. § 84. The Andhra Dynasty *continued*, and Rájá Bhoja. § 85. The Pál and Sen Dynasties in Bengal. § 86. Late Buddhist Dynasties. § 87. The Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims. § 88. Fah-hian § 89. Hiouen Thsang. § 90. Review of the state of Hindústán before the Muhammadan invasions.

§ 75. Buddhism, although it had become the paramount religion and the faith of most of the princes of India, had never

extirpated Bráhmanism; indeed it is doubtful whether the majority of the people ever became Buddhists. After the extinction of the powerful Mauryan dynasty, Bráhmanism began again to revive; and from this period (about 200 B. C.) some of the kingdoms of India were Buddhist, others Bráhmanical. The Bráhmanical kingdoms, few at first, gradually became more numerous and powerful.

§ 76. The Jaina religion was midway, in point of doctrines, between Buddhism and Bráhmanism. The Jainas retained the caste system, and acknowledged the gods of Bráhmanism; but they regarded certain saints called *Tírthankaras* as superior to the gods. Like the Buddhists, the Jainas denied the authority of the Vedas, and were extraordinarily careful not to destroy life. The last and chief *Tírthankaras* were Mahávira and Parsvanáth.

The system did not originate until about 600 A. D.; reached its greatest height about 1000 A. D.; and declined after 1200 A. D. It chiefly prevailed in the south of India and in Gujarát. Jainas abound still in Gujarát and in Canara. They have always been a learned and a successful commercial people. Támil literature owes to them its finest compositions; Jaina authors were the real refiners of that exquisite language. They were much persecuted in Madura, and finally rooted out from there by Kuna Pándiyon [*see* § 92], their leaders being impaled, probably in the eleventh century. Many of the bankers in Gujarát and in other parts of India (especially at Murshidábád in Bengal) have usually been Jainas. They have a holy mountain in the district of Hazáribágh in Bengal, called Parsvanáth, where their greatest *Tírthankara* obtained *absorption*, or eternal rest—*i. e.*, died.

§ 77. The sources of the history of the very obscure period of the revival of Bráhmanism are: (1) the semi-mythological accounts of the *Purânas* or later religious books of the Bráhmans, [*see* § 78]; (2) the inscriptions and coins that have been discovered in various parts of India (the earlier inscriptions being those of Buddhist monarchs); (3) the accounts of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India, whose descriptions have been translated from Chinese into the European languages [*see* § 87].

§ 78. The *Purânas* are so called, because they profess to teach that which is "old"—the old faith of the Hindús. They are generally supposed to date only from 800 A. D., many of them being of much later date. But they give a view of the religion of the Revival of Bráhmanism; and are mainly devoted to an interpretation of the beliefs of the various sects of worshippers of Vishnu, Siva, &c. Besides this, they are storehouses of mythological and legendary stories; they contain not only genealogies and lives of gods, but also genealogies of kings and heroes; and from some of the latter, gleams of historical truth may be derived.

The Puránas are eighteen in number. Though teaching a veneration for the Vedas, the religion is quite different from the Vaidik, and also from that of the Darsanas [*see* § 36]. It represents the popular Brahmanical religion of India. Three gods, Brahmá the Creator, Siva the Destroyer, and Vishnu the Preserver, are recognised, though the worship of Brahmá is neglected. Deified heroes, such as Ráma and Krishna, are worshipped as incarnations, or *avatárs*, of Vishnu; and there are also an infinite number of lesser gods.

§ 79. The Bráhmans secured popular interest and sympathy by an extensive and exciting ceremonial. They secured the allegiance of the young by encouraging learning and establishing schools and colleges. They had preserved the sacred hymns and commentaries, by consigning them to the care of authorised and responsible families; and they increased the influence which they possessed in this way, by inserting interpolations in the sacred books, and more especially in the two great Epics, favouring their pretensions. In these and other ways they gradually recovered their lost supremacy in India; but the process is represented in the Puránas to have been effected by a single miraculous event, as follows:—

When the holy Rishis, or sages, who dwelt on Mount Abú, complained that the Vedas were trampled under foot, and that the land was in the possession of Rákshasas (or Buddhists), they were ordered by Brahmá to re-create the race of Kshatriyas who had been extirpated by Parasu Ráma [*see* § 7]. This was effected by purifying the "fountain of fire" with water from the Ganges; when there sprang from the fountain four warriors called the *Agnikulas*, or generation of fire; who, amidst many marvels, cleared the land of the Rákshasas. Many of the modern Rájpúts claim descent from these Agnikulas, who thus propagated Bráhmanism.

§ 80. The great Andhra dynasty, which reigned at Pátaliputra and Rájagriha in Magadha, at Ujjain in Málwah, and at Warangal and other places in the Dakhin [*see* § 100], was the leading dynasty of this period. It flourished from B. C. 57 to A. D. 436; and even long after the latter date it is heard of as opposing the Muhammadans in the Dakhin.

§ 81. The most famous prince of this dynasty was Vikramáditya, king of Ujjain in Málwah; who is said to have sprung from the Pramaras or Puars, the chief race of the Agnikulas [*see* § 79]. Innumerable legends are told about this king, who undoubtedly ruled a prosperous and civilised country, and was a great patron of literature. In the year 78 B. C. he is believed to have subverted the Saka-Scythian kingdom in Western India (*see* § 58]. The era of Vikramáditya, 57 B. C., is still very widely current in Hindústán.

§ 82. Either Vikramáditya, or one of his immediate successors in Ujjain, is believed to have been defeated by the Yue-Chi, a tribe of Tatárs probably allied to the Huns; who established a

kingdom which lasted for some centuries in Western India, side by side with the Andhras and many other native dynasties. We know very little of the Yue-Chis, except from their coins, which form a sort of continuation of the Saka-Scythian series of coins [§ 58]. Under the name of Katurmán, this dynasty seems to have held Kábul until shortly before the Muhammadan invasion [*see* § 90].

§ 83. A Hindú dynasty professing Bráhmanism, and bearing the name of Gupta, seems to have been established at Kanauj [*see* § 74], about the second century A. D. This dynasty, in 318 A. D., conquered the Sáh king of Saurashtra and Gujarát [*see* § 57], and established a second capital at Vallabhi in Káthíwár; whence they are commonly called the Vallabhi dynasty.

In Kanauj, the Ráhtor Rájpúts obtained power in A. D. 470. They appear to have been driven out by another Rájpút dynasty (which latter lasted until the Muhammadan conquest in A. D. 1193) in the eleventh century; when they emigrated to Márwár in Rájpútána, and founded the dynasty of Jodhpur, which is still in existence.

Six of the monarchs of the Gujarát Vallabhi series at various times bore the title of Mahárájá Adhiráj, or Emperor of India. They seem to have ruled over a large part both of Hindústán and the Dakhin; and Samudra Gupta, the second king after the conquest of Gujarát, also possessed Sinhála, or Ceylon. Toramána was the last king of this line in Gujarát, about the year 498 A. D.; but the dynasty was continued in Maiwár, where it is in existence at the present day. [*see* Chap. II. § 93]. They appear to have been driven out of Gujarát by an army of Sassanian Persians, probably under the command of Naushirván, who was king of Persia from A. D. 521 to A. D. 579.

A Rájpút tribe, named the Chauras, succeeded the Vallabhi princes in Gujarát, from A. D. 746 to 931. Their capital was Anhalwára, now Pátan. In 931, a branch of the Salonkhya or Chalukya family of Kalián [*see* § 96], succeeded by marriage. One of the princes of this family conquered Málwah [*see* § 84]: they were finally subdued by Alá-ud-dín Khiljí in A. D. 1297.

§ 84. Whilst the Sáhs and the Yue-Chis, followed by the Vallabhi Guptas, were reigning in Western India, the latter also reigning at Kanauj and elsewhere, the Andhra dynasty continued powerful in Málwah and in Magadha. An Andhra king, who was reigning about A. D. 15, named Satakarni I., possessed the Dakhin; for an authentic inscription proves that he was deprived of it by a Sáh monarch.

The famous Rájá Bhoja reigned in Ujjain during the latter part of the eleventh century. The grandson of Bhoja was conquered by a Salonkhya prince of Gujarát; but Málwah recovered its independence, and was finally subdued by the Muhammadans in A. D. 1231.

§ 85. It is said that, from the times of the Mahábhárata, to the period of the Muhammadan invasion in A. D. 1203, four dynasties of kings reigned in Bengal. Of these, the last but one was a series of princes whose name was Pál, who reigned from the ninth to the latter part of the eleventh century. They are thought to have been Buddhists. Of one Rájá of this family, Deva Pál Deva, who probably lived in the ninth century, it is stated that he reigned over the whole of India, and that he had even conquered Thibet. This statement probably simply means that this Rájá was acknowledged as Mahárájá Adhiráj [*see* § 90]. The capital of the dynasty was at Gaur; it was afterwards transferred to Naddea.

The Pál dynasty was suceeeded by another line of kings called Sena.

About 900 A. D., a king belonging to this family reigned in Bengal named Adiswara, who invited five Bráhmans from Kanauj to settle in Bengal. The Bráhmans came each attended by a Káyastha. These are said to be the ancestors of the five high classes of Bráhmans and Káyasthas in Bengal.

One of the Sena kings, named Bullála Sena, settled the precedence of the descendants of the five Kanaujya Bráhmans. The last was Lakshmana Sena, driven out from Naddea by Bakhtiár Khiljí [*see* Chap. II., § 82].

§ 86. During the whole of the period treated of thus far in this part, Buddhism though declining was still powerful. It was chased from the Dakhin by the exertions of the Bráhman reformer Sankara Achárya in the eighth or ninth centuries; it had probably been repressed there at an earlier date by Kumárila. But there were Buddhist kings in Northern India until the tenth century; Buddhism was the prevailing religion at Benares until the eleventh century, and in Gujarát until the twelfth century.

It has been noticed that some of the earlier kings of the Pála dynasty in Bengal were Buddhists, about A. D. 900 [*see* § 85]. Before this, two powerful Buddhist dynasties, the Gonardhá and the Aditya, had ruled in Kashmír from a little before the Christian era down to about 622 A. D. Some of the kings of these dynasties made extensive conquests throughout India; magnificent temples, at Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa and elsewhere, remain to the present day as memorials of their religious zeal and their power.

§ 87. Both the extent of the power of Buddhism and the progress of its decline are very clearly exhibited in the accounts of some Chinese travellers who traversed India on pilgrimage at various periods from the fourth to the tenth century A. D. These accounts have been carefully preserved in China; and have recently been translated into English and French.

§ 88. The first pilgrim whose account is of importance is Fa-hian, who travelled in Central Asia and India from A. D. 399 to A. D. 414. He devoted his attention mainly to the shrines and other objects of Buddhist interest. He described his route

from Taxila in the Panjáb [*see* § 48] through Kanauj to Magadha, with its capital Pátaliputra. He also visited Rájagriha, Gaya, Benares; thence down the Ganges to Táhralipti, or Tamluk. From Tamluk he embarked for Ceylon. On his return to China he visited Java, which he found devoted to Bráhmanism.

§ 89. A far more important account is that of Hiouen Thsang, who travelled between 629 A. D. and 645 A. D. He describes accurately and carefully the condition of nearly every State in India. Thus, he found Taxila was now a province of Kashmír; and in Kashmír itself a powerful Bráhmanical dynasty, named Kritiya, had succeeded the Gonardhás mentioned in § 86. He found Kanauj a large city more than sixteen miles in length, ruled over by a powerful king named Siladitya, who favored Buddhism. Siladitya had, according to Hiouen Thsang, defeated every prince in India, except the Rájá of Mahárashtra (the Mahratta country). Prayág was entirely in the hands of the Bráhmans; but in the great realm of Magadha, Buddhism was still flourishing, though Pátaliputra was now in ruins. Tamluk was a port of immense trade and riches. Thence he travelled through Orissa, where was a great seaport named Charitra, to the Dakhin. He visited Chola and Drávada (with its capital Kánchípuram, or Conjeveram); but was dissuaded from going on to Ceylon because of the civil wars in that island. His accounts of Mahárashtra and Málwah are very full. Málwah was at this period next to Kanauj the most powerful State in India; a king, named Siladitya, had reigned some sixty years before the visit of Hiouen Thsang, and had greatly favored Buddhism during his long reign of fifty years. Vallabhi was also under the dominion of a powerful Buddhist king, nearly related to the kings of Kanauj and Málwah; but Ujjain had a king devoted to Bráhmanism.

Hiouen Thsang also gives interesting accounts of the manners and customs, and the learning of the country. He was much struck by the careful observance of caste distinctions, of which he gives a full account. Like the Greek writers [*see* § 65], he was generally favourably impressed by the good character and prosperous condition of the Indians.

§ 90. The student may well close his study of the history of this obscure period by observing the general state of Hindústán during the centuries immediately preceding the invasions of Mahmúd of Ghazní [*see* Chapter II., § 10]. There appear to have been six powerful kingdoms; and to one or other of these the numerous petty princes of Northern India paid homage. Sometimes one of these kingdoms became much more powerful than any of the others; and then its king was called Mahárájá Adhiráj, or Lord Paramount.

First. The Bráhmanical dynasty of the Panjáb. This was first located at Kábul, where it succeeded a Túrkí (Buddhist) dynasty, called the Katurmáns [*see* § 82]. It was afterwards settled at Láhor. Several of its later kings were successively defeated by Mahmúd of Ghazní [*see* Chap. II, § 10]; and it became extinct on the death of

Bhimapála. It is chiefly known from its coins, which bear on one side the image of a bull, and on the other that of a horseman; hence it is sometimes called the Bull and Horseman dynasty.

Secondly. The Rájpút State of Dehli, at length united with that of Ajmír, under two dynasties, called the Tuars of Ajmír and the Chohans of Dehli. The last king of the latter race was the heroic Prithvi Rájá [*see* Chap. II, § 19]. It claimed supremacy over all the countries from the Ganges to the Indus, embracing the lands watered by the arms of the Ganges from the Himálaya Mountains to the Arávalli Hills.

Thirdly. The Rájpút State of Kanauj, under the Ráhtors and another unknown dynasty [*see* § 83]. The power of Kanauj extended also from the Himálayas to the Arávalli Hills, and from the Ganges on the west to Benares on the east.

Fourthly. The Rájpút State of Maiwár, under the Gehlot dynasty. *Maiwár* is contracted from Madya-wár, and means the "central region;" its power extended from the Arávalli Hills on the north to the Vindhya, on the south [*see* Chap. II., § 93].

Fifthly. The Rájpút State of Anhalwára, or Pátan, under the Chawras and Salonkhyas [see § 83.]. Their power extended over Gujarát and a part of Sind, from the ocean on the south to the Great Indian Desert on the north, and from the Indus on the west to Maiwár on the east.

Sixthly. The Pála and Sena dynasties of Bengal [*see* § 85].

PART XIV. EARLY HISTORY OF THE DAKHIN.

§ 91. Agastya. § 92. The Pándya dynasty of Madura. § 93. The Chola dynasty of Tanjor. § 94. The Chera and Ballála dynasties of Malabar. § 95. Sáliváhana. § 96. The Chalukya dynasty of Kalián. § 97. The Kála Bhuriya dynasty, and the rise of the Lingáyet sect. § 98. Sankara Achárya. § 99. The Yádava dynasty of Deogarh. § 100. The Andhra dynasty of Warangal. § 101. Early history of Orissa.

§ 91. Hindú tradition mentions the sage Agastya as the benefactor who introduced science and literature from the north into the Dakhin. His date has been conjectured to be in the sixth or seventh century B. C. To him is attributed the foundation of Támil grammar and medicine. But the civilisation of the Dravidian country [*see* Introduction, § 23] undoubtedly goes back to a much earlier period; and, without believing fully the accounts given in the Rámáyana of the civilisation of the continental subjects of king Rávana of Ceylon, its origin may be dated as far back as the tenth century B. C.

§ 92. From a very early period two prosperous kingdoms existed in the extreme south of India. Of these, the Pándya dynasty was probably founded in the fifth century B. C. The founder was Pándya, a man of the agricultural class who came from Ayodhya or Oudh. Many traditions exist about these kings;

some of them were distinguished Támil authors one ("king Pandion") sent an embassy to Rome in the time of the Emperor Augustus. Their capital was at Madurá. The last of the Pándyas was Kuna Pándya, who lived about the eleventh century A. D.

Madura was in 1400 A. D. a city "like Dehli." In later times it was ruled by Náyaka princes. Of these the first was Visvanátha, in 1559; the most powerful was Tirumala, who died in 1659. They were ultimately conquered by the Nawáb of Arcot in 1736.

§ 93. The other powerful kingdom in the south was the Chola kingdom, whose capital was at first at Kánchípuram (Conjeveram). Its founder was Tayaman Nále, who came from Hindústán. Between the years B. C. 350 and A. D. 214, the Chola dynasty was united with the Pándya; but the former again became independent. Their capital was now moved to Tanjor, where they appear to have flourished till the fourteenth century A. D. The Chola kingdom in later times was subject to Vijayanagar (Bíjánagar); and at length was merged in the Mahratta kingdom of Tanjor.

§ 94. Besides these Pándya and Chola dynasties, there were many others of note, with which we are mainly acquainted through their inscriptions. Of these the most important was the Chera dynasty, which ruled in Travancor, Malabár, and Western Mysor. It existed from the first to the tenth century A. D. In the ninth century the southern part of the kingdom broke up into a number of small principalities, one of which (Calicut) was ruled by the Zamorins in A. D. 1497, when Vasco da Gama landed there [*see* Chap. VI. § 3]. They continued to rule there till the invasion of Haidar Alí in 1766.

In the northern part of their dominions, the Chera dynasty were succeeded by a powerful Rájpút race called the Ballálas. Their capital was at Dwára Samudra in North Mysor. They were at first Jainas in religion; but one of their kings, Vishnu Verddhána, was converted, in 1133, by Ramanuja, a famous Bráhman. This dynasty was subverted by the Muhammadans about A. D. 1310.

§ 95. The era of Sáliváhana is still in use in the Dakhin; its date is 77 A. D. He is said to have been the son of a potter, and to have ruled at Pátan on the Godávarí. He was the saviour and protector of the Bráhmans, who suffered persecution at this time from the Buddhists.

§ 96. A powerful family of Rájpúts, said to be descended from the Pándavas of the Mahábhárata, and called Chalukya, reigned from an early date at Kalián in the western part of what is now called the Nizám's territory [*see* Introduction, § 12]. Said to have come from Oudh, they appear to have established their power in the Dakhin about A. D. 250. During the fourth and fifth centuries, their power was very great, extending over the Pándyas and Cholas in the south, and the Andhras [*see* § 100] in the east. At least four or five kings of this race possessed the title Mahárájá Adhiráj about this period.

§ 97. The Chalukya dynasty became extinct in the year 1182; and were succeeded by a short-lived dynasty called the Kálá-Bhuriyá, whose tenure of power was chiefly remarkable for the rise of the Lingáyet sect, or worshippers of the Phallic emblem of Siva. A Bráhman named Basáppá was the preacher of this faith, which was disliked both by the Jainas (who had been favoured by the Chalukya kings) and by the orthodox Bráhmans. Basáppá managed to subvert the power of Vijala, the last monarch of the Kálá Bhuriyá dynasty; but his own power did not last long. The worship of the Lingá is still prevalent in southern and south-western India.

§ 98. The Bráhmanical mission of Sankara Achárya to the Dakhin in the eighth or ninth century has already been mentioned [§ 86]. He seems to have succeeded in largely destroying the popularity of Buddhism and Jainism in the south of India.

§ 99. A Rájpút dynasty named the Yádavas ruled in the eastern portion of Telingánah from the ninth to the end of the twelfth century. Their capital was Deogarh (the modern Daulatábád). They were very powerful during the twelfth century, and conquered the extensive kingdom of Kalián [*see* § 97] on the death of Vijala Kálá-Bhuriyá.

§ 100. The most important ancient dynasty in the eastern part of the Dakhin was that of the kings of Andhra or Telingánah, whose capital was Warangal (about eighty miles east of Haidarábád). They probably belonged to the great Andhra family of Magadha [*see* § 84], and gave their name to the southern kingdom which they conquered. In A. D. 1323, Warangal was taken by the Muhammadans [*see* Chapter IV., § 5], but it soon regained its independence, and became the capital of the Rájás of Telingánah. They were at perpetual war with the Bahmani kings, until Warangal was destroyed by Ahmad Sháh in A. D. 1435.

§ 101. Orissa, the eastern border land between Hindústán and the Dakhin, was ruled by a dynasty named Kesari from an early period till about A. D. 1131. The Gajapati race, supposed to be connected with the great Andhras, ruled in Cattack till A. D. 1568. A very powerful dynasty called Ganga Vansá, from the neighbourhood of Tamluk or Medinípúr (or Midnapur), is also mentioned as making extensive conquests in Southern India.

PART XV. SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

§ 102. Divisions of Sanskrit Literature. § 103. RELIGIOUS LITERATURE. § 104. Chronological divisions of Religious Literature. § 105. The Vedas. § 106. The Dharma-Sástras. § 107. PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE. § 108. MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE. § 109. Epic Poetry. § 110. Dramatic Poetry. § 111. Lyric Poetry. § 112. Fables and Ethical works.

§ 102. Those portions of Sanskrit literature which bear more or less directly on the early Hindú history, have already been

referred to in these pages. It will be well, however, for the young student to endeavour to obtain a general and connected view of the history of the chief works that have been written in that highly cultivated and most beautiful language.

Sanskrit literature has been classed in three divisions:—

(1). RELIGIOUS LITERATURE; (2), PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE; (3), POETICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

§ 103. The Religious literature of the Hindús is commonly divided by them into *Sruti* or Revelation, and *Smriti* or Tradition. Under the former head are comprised the *Sanhitás* and *Bráhmanas* of the Vedas; whilst the latter includes the numerous writings, considered to be supplementary to the Vedas, grouped under the name of the *Dharma-Sástras.*

§ 104. Another division of the Religious literature, in chronological order according to the time of composition or compilation, has been made by European scholars. This division is into four periods:—(1) the *Chhandas* period, from about 1500 B C. to 1000 B.C., when a few of the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda *Sanhitá* were probably composed; (2) the *Mantra* period, from 1000 B C. to 800 B.C. the supposed date of the composition of most of the Rig-Veda *Sanhitá;* (3) the *Bráhmana* period, from 800 B.C. to 600 B.C, when the Bráhmanas were mostly composed; (4) the *Sútra* period, from 600 B.C. to 200 B C., during which the Vedángas, Anukrumanis, &c., were composed. A connecting link between the *Bráhmana* and *Sútra* periods is said to be furnished by the *Aranyakas*, including most of the *Upanishads*

§ 105. The Vedas have already been described in § 2 Of the Vedas, only the Rig-Veda *Sanhitá* belongs to the time previous to the *Bráhmana* period. The other two *Sanhitás* (viz., of the Yajur-Veda and the Sama-Veda) were in truth, what they have been called, "the attendants of the Rig-Veda."

The difference between the two component parts of each Veda—*i. e.*, between the *Mantra* or *Sanhitá* and the *Bráhmana*, of each Veda—has been explained above in § 2.

§ 106. The DHARMA SASTRAS, included under the general name of Smriti, belong partly to the Bráhmana and partly to the Sútra period of Sanskrit literature. They consist of—

(1.) The VEDANTA, by Vyása, or Jaimini. This ancient Sanskrit work is generally included under the six Darsanas or systems of Philosophy [*see* § 39]

(2.) The four UPA-VEDAS. Of these the first, called *Ayus*, treats of the science of medicine. The second, called *Gandharva*, treats of music; and was composed by Bharata. The third, called *Dhanus*, on the fabrication and use of arms and implements used by the Kshatriya caste, was said to have been written by the Rishi Visvámitra. The fourth, called *Sthápatya*, was revealed by Visvámitra also; and treated of various mechanical arts.

(3.) The six VEDANGAS are considered as in some sense a subordinate part of the Vedas. The first is called *Sikshá*, or

the science of pronunciation and articulation. The second is *Chhandas*, or prosody, composed by the Muní Pingala. The third is *Vyákaraná*, or grammar—represented by the grammar of Pánini. Pánini, one of the greatest grammarians of the world, is believed to have lived somewhat before the time of Buddha [*see* § 44]; and to have resided in the extreme north of the Panjáb. The rules of Panini were criticised and completed by Kátyáyana, who in all probability was the teacher of Patanjali [*see* § 37]; and he in his turn was criticised by Patanjali. These three were the three *Rishis* who wrote on grammar. The fourth Vedánga is the *Nirukta*, or the explanation of obscure passages in the Vedas. This is represented by one great work only—the *Nirukta* of *Yáska;* but in this work, the etymology of Vaidik terms is considered in great detail. The fifth and most complete of the Vedángas is the *Kalpa* or the ceremonial; for which we have not only the Bráhmanas of the different Vedas, but also their respective Sútras,—the former being *Sruti*, the latter *Smriti*. It may be noticed that the *Sútras* are more practical than the Bráhmanas; containing nothing that is not immediately connected with the ceremonial. The sixth and last of the Vedángas was *Jyotisha*, or Astronomy. The earliest astronomer of whom any works remain, was the sage *Parásara*. The chief writer on Astronomy was called *Aryabhatta*, who lived about 500 A. D.; he affirmed the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, and made other discoveries far in advance of the age in which he lived. A later writer on Astronomy, *Bháskarácharya*, lived at Bidar in the Dakhin about A. D. 1100; he is said to have discovered a mathematical process very nearly resembling the *Differential Calculus* of modern European mathematicians. Another celebrated Hindú astronomer, but far less accurate than either Aryabhatta or Bháskarácharya, was *Varáhamihira;* who lived at Ujjain between 530 and 587 A. D.

It may be noticed that the first two Vedángas were considered necessary for *reading* the Veda; the third and fourth, for *understanding* it; the fifth and sixth, for *employing it at sacrifices*.

(4). The *Upángas*, the fourth class of the Dharma-Sástras, were four in number. The first was the *Purána*, or history [*see* § 78]. The second was the *Nyàya*, or logic [*see* § 38]. The third was the *Mimánsá*, or moral philosophy [*see* § 39]. The fourth was the *Dharma-Sástra*, or jurisprudence. Of this fourth Upánga, the best known is the *Mánava-dharma-sàstra* or "Laws of Manu" [*see* § 26]; the law-book of the Manavas, a subdivision of the sect of the Taittiriyas.

§ 107. The subject of the PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE of the Hindús, and of the chief philosophical writers in Sanskrit, has been briefly discussed in Part VII.

§ 108. Under the heading of MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE, the chief branches to be noticed are:—(1) the Epic poetry; (2) the

Puránas; (3) the Dramatic poetry; (4) the Lyric poetry; (5) Fables and Ethical works.

§ 109. The two great Epic Poems of the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana have already been described in Parts III., IV., V.; and the Puránas in § 78. There are however some Epic poets of a much later age. Of these Kálidása, better known as the greatest Hindú Dramatist [the "Shakspeare of India"—*see* next section] wrote the celebrated poem called *Raghuvansa*, or History of the race of Ráma; beginning with Dilípa, the father of Raghu, and mainly devoted to the celebration of the exploits of Raghu and his godlike grandson Ráma. The purity of sentiment, and the tenderness and fidelity of the characters represented, are characteristic both of the *Raghuvansa* and of all the other works of Kálidása. He also wrote the *Kumára Sambhava*, or Birth of Kártikeya, the God of War; together with some other poems of the nature of epics. The other great Epic poets are, *Bháravi*, *Srí-Harsha*, and *Mágha;* whose writings, with those of Kálidása, have been dignified by the titles of *Mahá Káya*, or the great poems. Bháravi is the author of the *Kirátárjuníya*, which contains an account of the conflict carried on by Arjuna against Siva in the form of a Kiráta, or wild hunter. Srí-Harsha's principal work is the *Naishadha-Charita*, or the Adventures of Nala, Rájá of Nishadha. Mágha is the author of *Sisupála Badha*, an epic poem on the death of Sisupála. A fifth epic poet, named *Soma-Deva*, is the author of the *Vrihat Kathá*.

§ 110. We come now to the Dramatists. Of these by far the greatest is Kálidása, who is said by the Hindús to have been one of the "gems of the Court of Vikramáditya", king of Ujjain [*see* § 81], about 57 B. C. His true date however was probably about 500 A. D. His most important Drama is *Sakuntala*, or the Lost Ring, the plot of which is taken from an episode in the Mahábhárata [*see* § 11]. It has been translated into English, French, Hindí, and other languages. The plot is as follows:—Sakuntalá was the daughter of the great Rishi Visvámitra, by Menaká who had been sent from heaven by Indra to allure the sage from his austere penances. When Visvámitra returned to his penances, Menaká went back to heaven; and Sakuntalá was adopted by the Rishi Kanwa, and subsequently married in the Gandharva manner to the Rája Dushyanta. Being cursed by a Rishi named Durvásas, she was fated to be forgotten by her husband; but as some remission of this cruel sentence, it was decreed that Dushyanta should again remember her on seeing a ring which he had given her. The loss of this ring in the waters of a tank, the grief of Sakuntalá at being disowned by her husband, the ultimate recovery of the ring in the belly of a fish, and the final recognition and happiness of Sakuntalá, are the chief incidents of the play.

The son of Dushyanta and Sakuntalá was Bharata, the ancestor of the Pándus and Kurus. It is worthy of note that, whilst the higher classes are represented in the play as speaking the classical

Sanskrit, the lower classes speak *Prákrit*, the vulgarised form of the Sanskrit.

The other great drama of Kálidása is called the *Vikramorvasí*. It is the story of the loves of king Vikrama of Prayág, and the nymph Urvasí who was changed into a climbing-plant.

The Toy-Cart (*Mrichchhakatí*) is the name of a celebrated drama of domestic life, said to be by a certain king named Súdraka. Its scene is laid in Ujjain; its hero a Bráhman named Chárudatta, who is a model of virtue, but who has been impoverished by his generosity.

Six other famous Sanskrit dramas remain to be noticed. The first is called *Málatí and Mádhava;* it was written by *Bhavabhúti*, a Bráhman of Barár, whose popularity as a dramatist rivalled that of Kálidása. Bhavabhúti was also the author of two other great dramas; the *Uttara-Ráma-Charita* (the plot of which is derived from the seventh book of the Rámáyana), and the *Mahávira-charita*. The fourth is the *Mudrá-Ráksha*sa by *Visákhadatta;* wherein is dramatized the revolution by which Chandragupta succeeded the Nandas in the kingdom of Magadha. The fifth is called *Ratnávalí*, or the necklace; a play attributed to king Harsha of Kashmír, who reigned from 1113 to 1125 A. D. The sixth is a theological and philosophical drama by Krishna Misra, called *Prabodha-Chandrodaya*, or "the rising of the moon of awakened intellect." It was probably composed in the twelfth century; and its object was the establishment of Vedánta doctrine.

§ 111. The most famous Lyric poem in Sanskrit is the *Megha-Dúta*, or Cloud-messenger, by the great dramatist Kálidása; and another by the same author is called the *Ritu-Sanhára*, descriptive of the seasons.

A lyric poem, half-dramatic, half-pastoral, called *Gíta-Govinda*, about the loves of the herdsman Krishna and his shepherdess Rádhá, was written by Jayadeva about the twelfth century. Jayadeva's verses are distinguished by the most exquisite melody.

§ 112. We come now to the last division of Miscellaneous literature—*viz.*, the *Nítikathá*, or fables and works on ethics. The most celebrated work of this class is the *Panchatantra;* so called from its being divided into five sections, or five collections of stories. It is attributed to Vishnu-Sarmá; and is the foundation of a similar collection of fables called the *Hitopadesa*, or Salutary Instruction. The *Panchatantra* was translated into Pehlevi by the orders of Náushirván, king of Persia, from A.D. 531 to 599; and hence, under the name of the *Fables of Bidpai or Pilpay*, was translated into most of the languages of the civilized world. Its Arabic form, under the name of Kalila-wa-Damna, was also very celebrated.

The story of the composition of the Panchatantra is curious. A certain king had three sons who were deficient in ability and application. He made this known to his councillors, and asked their advice. A learned Bráhman named Vishnu-Sarmá, who

was present, offered to relieve the king of his anxiety by taking the princes to his house and instructing them perfectly. He then composed for their benefit the five *tantras*:—viz., Mitra-bheda, or dissension of friends; Mitra-prápti, or acquisition of friends; Kakolukáya, or inveterate enmity; Sabda-nashta, or loss of advantage; Asampreksháya-karitwa, or inconsiderateness.

Four other works of a somewhat similar character are also celebrated. The first is the *Kathá-sarit-ságara*, or "ocean of the streams of narrative; said to have been collected by king Harsha of Kashmír [*see* § 110]. The second is the *Vetála-panchavinsati*, or twenty-five stories told by a Vetála or demon. The third is the *Sinhásana-dwátrinsati*, or thirty-two tales told by the images which supported the throne of King Vikramáditya. The fourth is the *Suka-saptati*, or seventy-two tales of a parrot.

Three other famous prose works may here be mentioned:—the *Kádamvarí*, by *Bánabhatta*; the *Básavadatta*, by *Subhandhu*, and the *Dasakumáracharita*, by Dandí.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

PART I. THE EARLY MUHAMMADAN INVASIONS.
A. D. 636—1186.

§ 1. Divisions of the history of the early Muhammadan period. § 2. The rise and rapid progress of Muhammadanism. § 3. Early Arab raids in India. § 4. The Invasion of Muhammad Kásim. § 5. His fate. § 6. The converted Hindús of Sind. § 7. The rise of the Ghaznaví dynasty. § 8. Sabaktigín. § 9. Mahmúd of Ghazní. § 10. Mahmúd's famous expeditions to India. § 11. His death and character. § 12. Ma[illegible] I. § 13. The Saljúks. § 14. Decline and extinction of the Ghaznaví dynasty.

§ 1. The early Muhammadan period in India may fairly be divided into five epochs. The *first* was an age of invasions, which were generally little more than incursions for plunder. They occurred during the latter portion of the period treated of in Part XIII. of Chapter I.; and left little or no impression on the country at large. The *second* begins with the real establishment of the Musalmán power in Hindústán under Muhammad Ghori; and includes the reigns of his immediate successors, commonly called by Muhammadan historians the "Dynasty of the Slaves of the Sultáns of Ghor." This period extends from A. D. 1193 to A. D. 1290; and includes, amongst other reigns, the long and important ones of Altamsh and Balban. The *third* epoch is that of the short rule of the Khiljí dynasty in Dehli, from 1290 to 1320; which saw the extension of Musalmán power into the Dakhin, and of which the most important reign is that of Aláud-dín. The *fourth* comprises the period of the Tughlak dynasty, to the death of Mahmúd Sháh in 1412; which saw the disintegration of the Muhammadan power to be afterwards re-established by the Mughúls; and in which there are two especially long and important reigns, those of Muhammad bin Tughlak and of Fírúz Sháh. The *fifth* is the period of the Sayyid dynasty from 1414 to 1451, and of the rule of the house of Lodí to the establishment of the Mughuls in 1526.

§ 2. Muhammadans reckon as the date of the foundation of their religion, the *Hijrah*, or "Flight of Muhammad to Medina," in 622 A. D. The spread of the new faith was wonderfully rapid. Within ten years from the date of the Hijrah, the whole of Arabia submitted to the immediate disciples of the prophet; and in a surprisingly short space of time, they carried their arms over Egypt, Syria, Persia, and the adjacent countries of Central Asia.

§ 3. As early as the fifteenth year of the Hijrah (A. D. 636), during the reign of the Khalif Umar, the Muhammadan Governor of Oman in Arabia (named Abul Asi) made an expedition to Thána near Bombay, and came back with some booty. Many similar plundering excursions were made during the reigns of the early Khalifs; they were invariably successful, and the Arabs returned to their country laden with the spoils of the rich valley of the lower Indus.

§ 4. At length, when a sanguinary tyrant named Hajjáj was governor of Irak,* a larger expedition was planned, which resulted in the temporary conquest of Sind by the Arabs. That part of India was then under a Rájá named Dáhir; and under him were many rich and populous cities, of which the chief were Debal (probably near the site of the modern Karáchí) Bráhmanábád, Nirun (the modern Haidarábád), Alor (near Bhakkar Sukhar on the Indus), and Multán. King Dáhir had plundered some Arab vessels; and consequently Hajjáj despatched a strong expedition under the command of a young and able warrior nearly related to him, called MUHAMMAD KASIM. He marched through Persia and Bilúchistán into Sind. Debal was taken and sacked amidst terrible slaughter; the whole of Sind was subdued, together with the neighbouring provinces of Siwistán and the lower Panjáb. Dáhir fell in a great battle, A. D. 712; his son Jai Singh escaped with difficulty, and all the towns of the kingdom were taken and plundered.

§ 5. The people of Sind were soon to be avenged. Before the caravans of plunder had reached Irak, Hajjáj died; and the Khalif Walid, the patron of Muhammad Kasim, also died within a short time. The new Khalif had other favourites; and Muhammad Kásim was recalled in A. D. 714, tortured, and put to death.

§ 6. With Muhammad Kásim, the Arab rule in Sind also virtually expired. Jai Singh returned to Bráhmanábád, and regained the sovereignty. It appears, however, that Jai Singh, with many other princes of Sind, soon afterwards embraced Muhammadanism; and ever since this period, that religion has always been powerful in the province.

§ 7. For two centuries India was now comparatively free from further inroads of the Muhammadans; and the next attack is from the mountainous regions of Afghánístán and Central Asia, north-west of the Panjáb.

* The country at the head of the Persian Gulf, about the lower basin of the Tigris and Euphrates.

In the early part of the tenth century, a dynasty (probably of Persian descent) named the Samánis were ruling in Central Asia, their capital being at Bukhára. A Túrkí slave of one of these monarchs, was called Alptigín; he rose to be *Hájib*, or Lord Chamberlain, and finally (amidst the disorders that arose on the death of his master) made himself an independent king at Ghazní, a strongly-fortified city seventy miles south of Kábul. SABAKTIGIN, the future conqueror of the Panjáb, was a Túrkí slave bought by Alptigín at Bukhára about A.D. 950. He accompanied his master in his conquests, and married his daughter; and when Alptigín and his son Ishak were both dead (the latter after an obscure reign of one year), Sabaktigín succeeded to the throne of Ghazní. He is called the first of the Ghaznaví dynasty.

§ 8. During a glorious reign of twenty years, he consolidated a kingdom in Afghánistán, Bilúchistán, and Túrkistán; extending from Bukhára to the Persian Gulf, and from the Sulaimán Mountains to the frontiers of Persia. Jaipál I., Rájá of Láhor [one of the "Bull and Horseman" dynasty; *see* Chap. I., § 90] attacked Sabaktigín in the valley of Pesháwar; but without success. Sabaktigín in his turn invaded the Panjáb; and defeated Jaipál, together with his allies from Dehli, Ajmír, Kálinjar, and Kanauj. A second time he defeated the Hindús with heavy slaughter; but made no attempt at occupying any portion of India, contenting himself with carrying off booty and elephants. He died in A. D. 996.

§ 9. But there was one present at these battles on whom the lesson was not thrown away. MAHMUD, the son of Sabaktigín, young as he was, had not failed to notice with what ease the hardy mountaineers of Zabulistán (the mountainous country around Ghazní) had beaten the hosts of the Indian king, though the latter were far more numerous. On attaining the throne of Ghazní in A. D. 996, he received from the Khalif a *khilat* of extraordinary magnificence, together with the title of "Right Hand of the State, Guardian of the Faith, and Friend of the Chief of the Faithful." Henceforth his zeal for Islám and his love of plunder induced him to make incessant expeditions into India.

§ 10. Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní appears to have fought no less than sixteen or even seventeen distinct campaigns in India. Of these, twelve are famous; and these alone we shall describe here. It may be noted that his zeal in the destruction of idols obtained for him the name of "Iconoclast," or *the image-breaker*; and that the plunder which he carried away from India vastly enriched his own country, and made Ghazní the most beautiful and the wealthiest city of the age.

(I.) A. D. 1001.—In his second expedition (the *first* of the famous twelve), he advanced as far as the Indus only, at the head of 10,000 chosen horse. He defeated Jaipál I. of

Láhor, near Pesháwar; and having stormed the strong fortress of *Waihind** on the Indus (fifteen miles north of Attock), he returned to Ghazní.

[NOTE.—The kings of the "Bull and Horseman" dynasty of Láhor, who were opposed to Mahmúd of Ghazní, were the last of that dynasty. Their names were:—(1) Jaipál I.; (2) Anandpál; (3) Jaipál II.; (4) Bhímpál, often called *Nidar Bhím*, or Bhím the Dauntless.]

Jaipál I., having been taken prisoner in the battle of Pesháwar, considered himself no longer worthy to reign. He abdicated in favour of Anandpál, and ascended the funeral-pile, to which he set fire with his own hands.

II. Mahmúd's third expedition, in A. D. 1004, was against the Rájá of Bhera (sometimes called Bhátía) on the left bank of the Jhelam.

III. His fourth was against Abul Fath Lodí, the chief of Multán; on his way, he defeated Anandpál of Láhor, in a battle near Pesháwar.

IV. Mahmúd's sixth expedition (the fourth of the twelve famous ones) in A. D. 1008-9, was a more important one, directed against Anandpál. The latter had formed a confederacy of all the Rájpút chiefs against him, and was also aided by the warlike tribe of the Gakkhars; but he was totally defeated at Waihind near Attock; though with great loss to the invading army. Mahmúd then marched to Nagarkot (or Fort Kángrah—for centuries a celebrated hill-fortress of the Himálayas overlooking the Beyah) where he pillaged the rich Hindú temple. He returned to Ghazní with incalculable wealth.

V. His eighth expedition was in A. D. 1010. In this he took Multán, carrying away Abul Fath as prisoner; and he subsequently made a league with Anandpál of Láhor, who had fled to Uchh, a town in Sind.

VI. His tenth expedition was in A. D. 1014, when he sacked the celebrated shrine of Thaneswar, between the Saraswatí and the Jamnah.

VII. The eleventh expedition, in A.D. 1015, appears to have been disastrous. Mahmúd endeavoured to penetrate into Kashmír, but was compelled to retreat to Ghazní.

VIII. The twelfth expedition in A. D. 1018-19, was against Kanauj and the sacred city of Mathurá or Mattra on the Jamnah; it is the most famous of all except the last. Mahmúd was now determined to penetrate into the heart of Hindústan. His army consisted of 100,000 horse, and 20,000 foot; these were gathered from all parts of his dominions, including the recent conquests which he had made in Bukhára and Samarkhand. He marched from Pesháwar along the foot of the mountains

* This has been commonly mistaken for *Batinda*, on the other side of the Satlaj.

crossing the Panjáb rivers as near to their sources as possible; and presented himself before Kanauj. This was a stately city full of incredible wealth; and its kings, who often held the title of *Maháráj Adhiráj* [*see* Chap. I., § 83], kept a splendid court. The Rájá threw himself on the generosity of Mahmúd, who admitted him to his friendship, and after three days left his city uninjured.

From thence he advanced to Mattra, sacred as the birth place of Krishna, which was given up to the soldiers for twenty days. Its temples struck Mahmúd with admiration, and kindled in him the desire to cover the barren rocks of Ghazní with similar edifices. Hindú slaves after this were sold in the army of the conqueror at two rupees each.

IX. Mahmúd's thirteenth expedition in A. D. 1022 was directed against the Rájá of Kálinjar, who had slain the Rájá of Kanauj for submitting to the invader in the last campaign. The Rájá of Kálinjar was aided by Jaipál II. (son of Anandpál and grandson of Jaipál I.) of Láhor. The latter was routed in a great battle on the banks of the river Ráhib. The result was the permanent occupation of Láhor by a Muhammadan garrison, and the appointment of a viceroy of Láhor by Mahmúd. *This was the foundation of the Musalmán empire in India.*

X. The fourteenth expedition of Mahmúd, in A. D. 1023, was another fruitless attempt to penetrate into Kashmír.

XI. Mahmúd, in his fifteenth expedition, in A. D. 1024, received the submission of Gwáliár and Kálinjar. From both of these places, and especially from Kálinjar, he obtained an enormous amount of gold and jewels, and a great many elephants.

XII. The sixteenth expedition (which was also the last, except a small and unimportant one a little later) was undertaken by Mahmúd in A. D. 1026—27, against the famous temple of Somnáth in the Gujarát peninsula. The march was long, including 350 miles of desert; and Mahmúd made extraordinary preparations for it. He passed through Múltán, and thence across the desert to Anhalwára or Nahrwála the ancient capital of Gujarát [*see* Chap. I., § 83], whose Rájá, named Bhím, fled before him. The struggle before Somnáth was terrible, and lasted three days. The Rájpút princes assembled from all parts to defend their holiest shrine; but their desperate valour was unavailing against the bravery and enthusiasm of Mahmúd and his veterans. The treasure obtained was immense; some of the Muhammadan historians say that the image of Somnáth (which the Bráhmans had offered to ransom by the payment of many crores of gold coins), when broken by Mahmúd's own hand, was found to contain a mass of rubies and other precious stones far exceeding in value the offered ransom.

Mahmúd had some thought of remaining for a long time in the beautiful land of Gujarát; but was disuaded by his ministers.

He marched back through Sind, his army suffering terrible privations.

§ 11. Mahmúd died at Ghazní in A. D. 1030, in his sixty-third year. In his character, energy and prudence were admirably combined. His zeal in the cause of Islám was never-flagging; it sometimes carried him into cruel excesses, but did not prevent his making friends with infidels (as in the cases of the Rájá of Kanauj and the Rájá of Kálinjar) who could be of use to him. He was a skilful and enterprising commander in time of war; and in time of peace, notwithstanding extreme avarice (which was displayed in his appropriating and hoarding the vast Indian booty) he was a liberal patron of learning, and devoted large sums to the maintenance of a University and to the support of learned men. A Mosque which he founded and named "the Celestial Bride" was the wonder of the whole East for the splendour of its architecture and adornments.

§ 12. On the death of Mahmúd there was a contest for the throne between Muhammad and Mas'úd, twin sons of Sultán Mahmúd; the former reigned for seven months, and was then deposed and blinded by Mas'úd I. This monarch made several inroads into India; in one of which he captured Hánsí, called the "virgin fortress," because it had never before yielded to any invader. One of the Viceroys of Láhor under Mas'úd penetrated as far as Benares, which he plundered.

§ 13. The Saljúks, a Túrkí tribe of central Asia, now invaded Ghazní and harassed the kingdom of Mas'úd. The latter was at length totally defeated by these invaders in a battle which lasted three days; he fled to Láhor, and ultimately gave up the whole of Khurásán to the Saljúks. He was shortly afterwards murdered in the year 1040.

§ 14. After Mas'úd's death, the Ghaznaví kingdom fell into that state of internal commotions, palace intrigues, murders, and rivalries, which generally attended the decline of Asiatic dynasties. In process of time one province after another was lost; till the last monarch of the race had nothing left to him but the Panjáb.

The blind Muhammad was reinstated for a short time on the death of his brother Mas'úd. Maudúd, the son of Mas'úd, then succeeded, and regained possession of Ghazní. Maudúd was followed by Abdur Rashíd, son of the Great Mahmúd, in 1051; the latter asserted his supremacy over the Panjáb, which (with the exception of Láhor) had again been conquered by the Hindús. Farrukhzád, Ibráhím, and Mas'úd II., followed in succession. The last, who became king in 1098, resided chiefly at Láhor; and is said to have carried his arms beyond the Ganges. Mas'úd II. was succeeded by his son Arslán; but another son, named Bahrám, deposed his brother Arslán by the aid of his mother, who was a Saljúkian princess. Bahrám ruled long and prosperously; but his reign was disgraced by a crime which proved the ruin of his race [*see* below, § 15]. Defeated by the Ghorians

he fled towards India, but died broken-hearted on the journey. His son Khusrau and his grandson Khusrau Malik reigned in Láhor until A. D. 1186; when, with the latter, the race of Sabaktigín became extinct.

PART II. MUHAMMAD GHORI AND HIS SUCCESSORS, THE SLAVE KINGS OF DEHLI. A. D. 1193-1290.

§ 15. Rise of the house of Ghor. § 16. The nephews of Alá-ud-dín. § 17. Table of the Muhammadan Kings of Dehli to the time of Bábar. § 18. Muhammad Ghori. § 19. Prithvi Rájá. § 20. Battle of Thaneswár. § 21. A Parallel. § 22. Completion of the conquest of Hindústán. § 23. Death and character of Muhammad Ghori. § 24. Kutb-ud-dín. § 25. Arám. § 26. Altamsh. § 27. Rukn-ud-dín. § 28. Razíah. § 29. Bahrám. § 30. Mas'úd. § 31. Násir-ud-dín. § 32. Balban. § 33. Revolt of Tughral in Bengal. § 34. Death of Balban. § 35. Kaikúbád.

§ 15: During the hundred and forty years occupied by the gradual decline of the Ghaznaví dynasty, another kingdom had been rising on its ruins in the south of Afghánistán. The chieftains of the hill territory of Ghor, between Ghazní and Herát, had long been known as warlike and ambitious princes; and one of them, Muhammad Suri, had been with great difficulty subdued by the Great Mahmúd. A later prince, named Kutb-ud-dín, married the daughter of Bahrám [*see* last section]; a quarrel arose, and Bahrám murdered his son-in-law. The result was a war in which Alá-ud-dín, a brother of the murdered prince, took Ghazní by storm, and gave it up for seven days to his victorious soldiery, by whom it was utterly sacked; for which ferocious revenge, his name has been handed down to posterity as "the Burner of the world" (*Jahánsoz*).

§ 16. In A. D. 1173, the nephew of Alá-ud-dín, named Ghiás-ud-dín, wrested Ghazní from the hands of the Ghuzz, a Túrkí tribe who had held it for twelve years after they had turned out the last of the Ghaznaví dynasty. Ghiás-ud-dín placed his younger brother Shaháb-ud-dín (Muhammad Ghori) on the throne of Ghazní, and himself returned to Ghor.

§ 17. Muhammad bin Sám, or MUHAMMAD GHORI (whose early title was Shaháb-ud-dín, and his later name Muizz-ud-dín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám) was the true founder of the Musalmán Empire of India. He was the First Muhammadan King of Dehli. A Table of the succession of these kings of

Dehli from Muhammad Ghori to the invasion of Bábar, is here inserted for reference.

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.
1	Muizz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám (Shaháb-ud-dín, or Muhammad Ghori	A. D. 1193
2	Kutb-ud-dín Aibak	" 1206
3	Arám Sháh	" 1210
4	Shams-ud-dín Altamsh	" 1210
5	Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh I	" 1235
6	Sultána Razíah	" 1236
7	Muizz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh	" 1239
8	Alá-ud-dín Mas'úd Sháh...	" 1241
9	Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd	" 1246
10	Ghiás-ud-dín Balban	" 1265
11	Muizz-ud-dín Kaikubád	" 1287
12	Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh II., Khiljí (2nd Dynasty) ...	" 1290
13	Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhím	" 1295
14	Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh	" 1295
15	Shahúb-ud-dín Umár	" 1315
16	Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh I	" 1316
17	Násir-ud dín Khusrau	" 1320
18	Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh (3rd Dynasty) ...	" 1320
19	Muhammad bin Tughlak	" 1325
20	Fírúz Sháh III., bin Salar Rajab	" 1351
21	Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh II	" 1388
22	Abúbakr Sháh	" 1389
23	Násir-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh bin Fírúz Sháh ...	" 1389
24	Sikandar Sháh (Humáyún)	" 1392
25	Mahmúd Sháh bin Muhammad Sháh (Tímúr 1403)...	" 1392
26	Nusrat Sháh; Interregnum; Mahmúd restored 1405...	" 1395
27	Daulat Khán Lodí	" 1412
28	Khizr Khán Sayyid (4th Dynasty)	" 1414
29	Muizz-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh II	" 1421
30	Muhammad Sháh bin Faríd Sháh	" 1433
31	Alam Shah (or Alá-ud-dín)	" 1443
32	Buhlol Lodí (5th Dynasty)	" 1450
33	Sikandar bin Buhlol	" 1488
34	Ibráhím bin Sikandar (Bábar 1526)	" 1517

§ 18. Muhammad Ghori in 1175, two years after his settlement in the government of Ghazní, conquered Multán from the heretic Muhammadans who held it; but in the following year he was defeated in an expedition against the Rájá of Nahrwála. He next attacked Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznavís in Láhor; and captured him by stratagem in 1184. In 1191 he marched into the heart of Hindústán, and sustained a crushing defeat from the Chohán Rájpút [*see* Chap. I., § 90] Prithví Rájá of Ajmír, at Thaneswar. This is sometimes called the battle of Narám.

§ 19. Prithvi Rájá, or Rái Pithaura, represented the flower of Rájpút chivalry; and has always been one of the favourite heroes of the Hindús. His mother was a Tuár Rájpút Princess of Dehli; his father was Someswar, an heir of the Chohán of Ajmír. Jaichand, Rájá of Kanauj, was his cousin, being the son of another Tuár Princess, sister of Prithvi's mother; Prithvi however, notwithstanding the opposition of Jaichand, had succeeded to the two thrones of Dehli and Ajmír. His praises are sung in the poems of Chand Bardai, his devoted admirer and friend.

§ 20. Prithvi Rájá, after he had defeated Muhammad Ghori at the first battle of Thaneswar, endeavoured to provide against the recurrence of the danger by forming a confederacy of all the Rájpút princes; and it is said that he was accompanied in the next campaign by the forces of no less than a hundred and forty Rájás. The contests between the two cousins, Prithvi of Ajmír and Dehli, and Jaichand of Kanauj, had undoubtedly weakened the Hindús; and when, in the following year (1193) they again met Muhammad Ghori on the same battle-field of Thaneswar, they were utterly routed. Prithvi Rájá was captured and put to death; and the Musalmán power was firmly established by this one battle.

§ 21. An interesting parallel may be drawn between the battle of Thaneswar, and the battle of Hastings which established the Norman power in England. The respective characters of Muhammad Ghori and of Prithvi Rájá in the one contest, and those of William the Conqueror and Harold the Saxon in the other, are by no means dissimilar. Domestic dissensions, the quarrels between Harold and his brother Tostig, had weakened the Saxons; just as the fights between Ajmír and Kanauj had weakened the Hindús. The Muhammadan troops were animated by a fiery religious enthusiasm, and their leader believed he was recovering the conquered possessions of his great precursor, Mahmúd of Ghazní; just as William the Norman carried with him the sacred banner of the Pope, and regarded the Saxon as the usurper who had broken his oath and supplanted the rightful heir of Edward the Confessor. And lastly, the numerous hosts of the brave Rájpúts were unable to stand against the hardy and disciplined veterans of Muhammad; just as the chivalrous devotion of the Saxons availed nothing against the coolness and steadiness of William's practised soldiers and the consummate military skill of their leader.

§ 22. Muhammad Ghori returned home after the battle of Thaneswar, leaving his Lieutenant Kutb-ud-dín (who had been a slave and who ultimately succeeded to the throne) as Viceroy. Kutb-ud-dín conquered Mírat and Dehli in his master's absence; and the next year (1194) Muhammad Ghori returned to Hindústán. He advanced on Kanauj; and totally defeated Jaichand, the former enemy of Prithvi, at Chandrawár in the Doáb. He then again departed to his dominions west of the Indus, leaving Kutb-ud-dín to consolidate his conquests.

§ 23. Thirteen years later, Muhammad again entered the Panjáb; when he was assassinated in his own camp by a band of Gakkhars [*see* § 10], in 1205. His character was that of "a Soldier of fortune"; a tough and obstinate mountaineer, whom no vicissitudes of fortune could daunt and no defeats could dismay. As a king, it was expected of him in that turbulent age that he should fight and conquer and injure his neighbours to the best of his abilities; and he appears to have acted up to this notion of his kingly duties all his life, in a calm and determined way. Mahmúd, Prince of Bust, was the nephew and successor of Muhammad Ghori; but beyond the fact of his conferring the emblems of regal dignity on the imperial viceroys at the death of Muhammad, he has no further connexion with Indian history.

§ 24. *Second King, A.D.* 1206—1210.—KUTB-UD-DIN Aibak, mentioned above, succeeded as king of Dehli. Three other slaves and lieutenants of Muhammad Ghori succeeded to other parts of his dominions, *viz.*, Taj-ud-dín *Ilduz* at Ghazní, Násir-ud-dín *Kubáchah* in Multán and Sind, and Muhammad *Bakhtiár Khilji* in Bihár and Bengal. Kutb-ud-dín had already consolidated his kingdom whilst acting as viceroy for Muhammad Ghori at Dehli and Láhor. No important events happened after his actual accession, except a successful campaign against Ilduz. In this campaign he took Ghazní, but almost immediately evacuated it.

§ 25. *Third King, A. D.* 1210.—ARAM succeeded his father Aibak; but within a year was deposed by Altamsh, formerly a slave, and now a son-in-law of the late king.

§ 26. *Fourth King, A.D.* 1210—1235.—Shams-ud-dín ALTAMSH was the greatest of the Slave Kings. Ilduz, king of Ghazní, was driven into Hindústán by the king of Khwarizm; and was captured and thrown into prison by Altamsh. Not long after, the king of Khwarizm, himself overpowered by the Mughul hordes under Changiz Khán,* endeavoured to establish himself in Hindústán, but was forced to take refuge in Sind. Subsequently Kubáchah, king of Sind, was defeated by Altamsh; he drowned himself at Bhakkar, and Altamsh annexed his dominions. The victorious Sultán forcibly asserted his supremacy over the Khiljí chiefs in Bihár and Bengal; and occupied the rest of his reign in subduing those portions of the country (Rantambhor, Gwáliár, Bhilsa, Ujjain, &c.) which had independent, or having been conquered, had revolted. Before his death he was lord of all Hindústán, with the exception of some few isolated portions.

During this reign Chahár-Deva, Rájá of Narwár, was acknowledged by the Rájpúts as *Maharájá Adhiráj.* He endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to maintain his position against Altamsh; but was at length compelled to confess the supremacy of the

* This Tatár leader was one of the greatest conquerors of the world. He overran all Asia; but was fortunately diverted from attempting the conquest of India. Bábar's mother was a descendant of his tribe.

latter. Altamsh obtained recognition from the Khalíf of Baghdád—an important event in the history of a Muhammadan kingdom.

§ 27. *Fifth King*, *A. D.* 1235-1236.—RUKN-UD-DÍN Fírúz Sháh succeeded his father; his reign of six months was disgraced by his debaucheries. There were several coalitions of nobles, organized to defeat the intrigues of the Queen-mother. Rukn-ud-dín was deposed by his sister, who had originally been nominated to the empire by Altamsh.

§ 28. *Sixth reign*, *A.D.* 1236-1239.—RAZIAH, called on her coins *Sultán* (in the masculine gender) justified her father's choice, by the display of very considerable ability in establishing her power, notwithstanding the opposition of the Vazír and many of the provincial governors. The drawback of her sex, however, presented itself at the height of her prosperity. She displayed a scandalous partiality for an Abyssinian slave in the court, which gave extreme offence to the Túrkí nobles. Altúniah, the governor of Sarhind, rebelled; the Abyssinian was killed in the battle that followed, and Razíah was transferred to the *zanána* of the conqueror. Altúniah now advanced on Dehli, but was defeated and put to death, together with the Empress, by the nobles, who set up the brother of the latter, named Bahrám.

§ 29. *Seventh King*, *A.D.* 1239-1241.—The reign of Muizz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh, brother of Razíah, again proved the correctness of Altamsh's estimate of the characters of his own sons. He was a violent man, and showed so much severity in putting down two conspiracies, that the army (which had been sent to repress an inroad of the Mughuls who had captured Láhor) revolted. Under the command of the Vazír, the troops marched back to Dehli, captured the city and murdered the Sultán.

§ 30. *Eighth King*, *A.D.* 1241-1246.—The reign of Alá-ud-dín MAS'ÚD, son of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz, and grandson of Altamsh, is chiefly remarkable for an invasion of Sind by the Mughuls*, who, however, withdrew without fighting. The Sultán, at first apparently a youth of amiable character, appears to have contracted licentious habits at the time of this campaign. Great disorders at length arose; the nobles invited Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd to assume the tiara, and the Sultán was thrown into prison where he died.

§ 31. *Ninth king*, *A.D.* 1246–1265.—Násir-ud-dín MAHMÚD succeeded his nephew Mas'úd. He was the second son of Altamsh *of that name;* his elder brother of the same name having died whilst governing Bihár and Bengal. He appears to have led a virtuous and secluded life. Devoted to the occupation of transcribing the Kurán, he resigned the affairs of State to his Vazír, Ulugh Khán, better known by his imperial title of Ghiás-ud-dín Balban. The formidable Hindú Rájá Chahár-Deva, mentioned

* Many historians give an account of an invasion of Bengal by the Mughuls in this reign; but recent researches prove that no such invasion took place.

above, was subjugated in this reign; his fort of Narwár was taken, and many other minor Hindú States were reduced to submission. The Mughuls, who had entered Multán, were successfully opposed. A quarrel occurred at one time between the Sultán and his faithful Vazír Balban; the latter was ordered to retire to his private estates, but was soon restored to power by his master, who could do nothing without him.

§ 32. *Tenth King, A.D.* 1265-1287.—Mahmúd dying without heirs, the powerful Vazír Ghiás-ud-dín BALBAN (a son-in-law of the great Altamsh) peaceably took possession of the throne. The first use he made of his power was to endeavour to destroy the influence of the Túrkí nobles (of whom he had himself been one); who, to the number of forty, formerly slaves of Altamsh, had formed a sort of military oligarchy for mutual protection and aggrandisement. The king now did his best to cut off all these, his former associates, including many of his near relations. He instituted many severe and tyrannical laws. Further to secure his position, he organized a searching and all-pervading system of espionage; and having brought his army to a high state of efficiency, seems, under the same inspiration, to have determined not to venture far away from his capital. He put down with a strong hand the outrages of the Mewátis, who had been carrying on their plundering even in the streets of Dehli.

§ 33. His unsparing rigour secured the peace of his dominions throughout his long reign; the only important disturbance being a serious revolt of Tughral, the Governor of Bengal, who assumed the style and titles of an independent king, and succeeded in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length the Sultán marched against him in person; and one of his commanders, coming upon the forces of the rebels somewhat unexpectedly, in a dashing spirit of chivalry, though at the head of only forty troopers, entered their camp at headlong speed, and struck panic into his adversaries by his very rashness. In the precipitate flight which ensued, Tughral was captured and slain; and Bengal was confided to the care of Bughrá Khán, the second son of the Sultán.

§ 34. Balban at length died at the age of eighty, of a broken heart, caused by the loss of the heir-apparent, Muhammad, the Governor of Multán, who fell bravely fighting against the Mughuls. Owing to the disorganization of the neighbouring kingdoms by the inroads of these fierce invaders, Balban's court gave refuge to an immense gathering of illustrious exiles, including no less than fifteen sovereign princes. Amongst these exiles were many celebrated literary men, of whom Amír Khusrau, the Persian poet, was the most famous [*see* § 101].

§ 35. *Eleventh King, A.D.* 1287-1290.—Muizz-ud-dín KAIKUBAD, the son of Bughrá Khán of Bengal, was elevated to the throne on the death of his grandfather. Balban had implored Bughrá Khán himself to come to Dehli to be nominated as the successor; but on his refusal to leave Bengal, the old king

had nominated Kai Khusrau (the son of the deceased heir, Muhammad) as his heir. On the death of Balban, the party in power at Dehli procured the accession of Kaikubád, to avoid the horrors of a civil war between Bughrá Khán and Kai Khusrau; and the two latter seem to have acquiesced in this settlement, Bughrá Khán governing in Bengal, and Kai Khusrau at Láhor.

The young king soon gave way to dissipation, and fell under the guidance of an ambitious minister named Názim-ud-dín, who hoped to secure the throne for himself. He at first intrigued with Kai Khusrau; but soon procured the assassination of the latter as a dangerous rival. He next attacked the Nau-Muslim (converted) Mughuls who at this time formed an important element in the body politic at Dehli; and got them put to death, one after another. He next endeavoured to sow distrust between the king and his father, and actually induced the former to lead an army towards Bengal. When the armies met, the natural affection between the father and son caused a reconciliation, and frustrated the designs of the ambitious Vazír; and the latter was shortly afterwards poisoned. Jalál-ud-dín Khiljí, Governor of Samána, became Vazír and succeeded to all the old influence of Názim-ud-dín. He employed his power, however, more effectually; for he got possession of the person of the young heir-apparent, and then caused the assassination of the king who had already become paralysed. Thus ended the dynasty of the Slaves of the Sultáns of Ghor.

PART III. THE KHILJI DYNASTY. A. D. 1290—1320.

§ 36. Origin of the Khiljís. § 37. Jalál-ud-dín Khiljí. § 38. Sidi Maulá. § 39. Campaigns of Alá-ud-dín in the Dakhin. § 40. Murder of Jalál-ud-dín. § 41. Ibráhím. § 42 Accession of Alá-ud-dín. § 43. Summary of his reign. § 44. Various revolts. § 45. The Mughuls. § 46. Malik Káfúr. § 47. Dewál Deví. § 48. Malik Káfúr's successes in the Dakhin. 49. Death of Alá-ud-dín. § 50. His character. § 51. Umar. § 52. Mubárak. § 53. Khusrau.

§ 36. The Khiljís were a Túrkí tribe; but they had been long settled amongst the Afgháns between Siwistán and India, and were commonly reckoned as Afgháns or Patháns.

§ 37. *Twelfth King, A.D.* 1290—1295.—JALÁL-UD-DÍN Fírúz Sháh, the head of the Khiljí tribe, was the chief of the old Ghaznaví or Ghorian party; whose principal rivals were the Túrkí adherents of the family of Balban. The latter party had rallied around the young prince, son of Kaikubád, whom they had endeavoured to make king under the title of Shams-ud-dín. Jalál-ud-dín frustrated their attempts by seizing this youth, who was made away with after about three months; and subsequently, in the second year of his reign, he totally routed a formidable

levy of this party, and captured Malik Chajú, the nephew of Balban, and the chief of the faction. He displayed extraordinary clemency in his treatment of the defeated rebels; and throughout the rest of his reign, the mildness of his administration was so extreme, that even robbers and other evildoers escaped their just punishment, and many disorders appear to have arisen in consequence.

§ 38. The single exception to this feeble lenity was an unfortunate one; for a *Darwesh* named Sidi Maulá, of high repute for sanctity, was put to death in the royal presence, because some conspirators had plotted to put him on the throne; and his dying curse had a strong effect on the superstitious minds of the people. A dreadful whirlwind happened to arise just after the execution; the following year was one of famine; and these misfortunes, together with the miserable end of the king and the exclusion of his family from the throne, were all ascribed to the retributive action of the Sidi's curse.

§ 39. With the exception of an expedition of the Sultán to Rantambhor in 1290, and of an inroad of the Mughuls in 1292, —checked by Jalál-ud-dín, and the prisoners treated with his usual forbearance—the chief interest of this reign centres in the campaigns of Alá-ud-dín, the king's ferocious nephew and successor. He successfully invaded the Dakhin; marching from his Government of Oudh, he passed through Ilichpur and attacked Deogiri (now Daulatábád) the capital of Ramdeo, king of Mahárashtra. The Rájá was compelled to submit, to cede Ilichpur, and to pay an enormous tribute; and Alá-ud-dín then returned to Málwah.

§ 40. He now marched towards Dehli; pretending friendship, he induced the king to come out and meet him with a small retinue; and the poor old man was assassinated at the moment of clasping the hands of his treacherous nephew.

§ 41. *Thirteenth King, A. D.* 1295.—Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhím, a younger son of Jalál-ud-dín, and an infant, was hastily set up by the Queen-mother on the assassination of his father; the elder son, Arkali Khán, being absent in his governorship of Multán. The boy-Sultán had to flee, on the approach of Alá-ud-dín, to the protection of his brother at Multán, and his reign is historically merely a nominal one.

§ 42. *Fourteenth King, A. D.* 1295—1315.—The ferocious ALÁ-UD-DÍN, secure in the command of a veteran army and of the immense treasures which he had brought from the Dakhin, assumed the insignia of royalty in his camp immediately after the murder of Jalál-ud-dín. He distributed enormous largesses to the nobles and populace of Dehli; and having by an artifice obtained possession of the persons of the Queen Dowager and her two sons, he cruelly put them to death in cold blood.

§ 43. The events of this long reign were of the ordinary character—insurrections generally put down with sanguinary severity; invasions of Mughuls; and the successes of a victorious general, Malik Náib Káfúr.

§ 44. The final conquest of Gujarát was effected in A. D. 1297. Some of the troops returning from this campaign mutinied; their wives and children were massacred by the king, and ultimately the rebels themselves were captured and slain. In 1299, an attempt was made on the king's life by his nephew, Prince Sulaimán, whilst on a hunting expedition. The prince, believing that his uncle was dead, hurried to the camp and proclaimed himself king; but Alá-ud-dín recovered from his wounds, and presented himself to the army, by whom he was received wth joy. Sulaimán was executed for his treason; and a similar fate subsequently befell two other rebellious nephews. Another even more serious revolt happened, whilst the Sultán was engaged in the siege of Rantambhor; a turbulent man named Háji Maulá succeeded in getting possession of the royal palace at Dehli, and absolutely elevated a puppet king, in the shape of a descendant of Alí, who, however, only enjoyed the doubtful dignity for a few days, for which he paid the forfeit of his head.

§ 45. As the leading object of the Mughuls in their expeditions was usually merely plunder, it was seldom that they left any record of their raids over the devoted lands beyond the devastation which marked their track. In the case of Kwájah Kutlugh, however, who pushed his forces up to the walls of Dehli, in A. D. 1298, to be defeated at last by Alá-ud-dín, the horde over which he ruled seems to have contemplated a more permanent occupancy of southern soil, and to have established temporary head-quarters at Ghazní. Alá-ud-dín defeated Kutlugh, mainly through the skill of his general Zafar Khán; whom, however, he basely allowed to be cut off by the Mughuls at the close of the battle.

§ 46. In A. D. 1300, Alá-ud-dín conquered the strong fort of Rantambhor; and the still more celebrated one of Chítor some three years later. About this period the Mughuls ceased their incursions for a long time; and the Emperor now turned his attention to the South of India. An expedition was sent into the Dakhin under Malik Káfúr, who brought the Rája of Deogiria captive to Dehli.

§ 47. A romantic episode of one of these campaigns is very famous. Dewál Deví, the daughter of the Rájá of Gujarát, was renowned as the most beautiful damsel in India: and the honour of her hand had been so eagerly sought for by the Hindú princes, that armies had been set in motion on her account. By chance, she and all her escort were captured by the Imperial army: she was sent to Dehli, and there she found her own mother Kamalá Deví established as the favourite Queen in the Emperor's palace. It was not long before the young heir-apparent, Khizr Khán, saw and appreciated her charms. The love was mutual; and though the Emperor was at first angry, he at length consented to the match, and the young lovers were married in due form. The story of their loves has been made the subject of a beautiful, though rather lengthy Persian poem by Amír Khusraur The interest in her tale is, however, sadly shaken by the

melancholy after-fate, the penalty of her extraordinary beauty. As a widow, she was forcibly married to the two succeeding Sultáns, one after the other; the one being the brother and murderer of her husband, the other the base-born usurper Khusrau.

§ 48. Malik Káfúr continued his victorious expeditions into the Dakhin. Four times he marched thither,—in 1306, 1309, 1310, and in 1312; and surpassed even his successful master in the amount of glory and spoil which he there acquired. He successively conquered Mahárashtra, Telingánah (taking the strong fort of Warangal after a siege of some months) Carnáta, and Malabár as far as Cape Comorin. Having carried the arms of the Emperor of Dehli throughout the Indian peninsula, he began to intrigue against his master, and it is more than suspected that he hastened his death by poison.

§ 49. Alá-ud-dín's mind and his body were now failing under the influence of habitual intemperance. He became jealous of every one; imprisoned his queen and his two eldest sons, and caused his brother Alaf Khán, and his great general Alp Khán to be murdered. Rebellions broke out; and in the midst of these Alá-ud-dín died in 1317.

§ 50. Alá-ud-dín was not without genius, and his military skill was undoubted; but his want of mental discipline and judgment led him into the wildest schemes. He sometimes contemplated proclaiming himself, as Muhammad had done, the Prophet of a new religion; at other times he aimed at the conquest of the world, and assumed the title of the second Alexander, which may still be seen on some of his coins. He was, however, in his more sober schemes, resolute and energetic; and his reign is an instance of the success of vigour, even in the worst and most tyrannical despotisms.

§ 51. *Fifteenth King, A.D.* 1315.—A child named Shaháb-ud-dín Umar was set up for a short time as a puppet king by the great commander, the eunuch Malik Káfúr. The latter, however, was almost immediately assassinated by some *Páiks* (irregular soldiery); and as he had already blinded Khizr Khán, the rightful heir, another brother named Mubárak was made regent for Umar. Mubárak soon murdered Khizr Khán, blinded Umar, and transferred the crown to his own brow.

§ 52. *Sixteenth King, A.D.* 1316-1320.—Kutb-ud-dín MUBARAK Sháh gave himself up to all kinds of debauchery; and resigned the command of the State to his Vazír, Khusrau Khán, a man who was originally a slave, and a Hindú of the lowest caste. Khusrau conquered Malabár in 1319: and on his return to Dehli, personally superintended the murder of the king. He ascended the throne amid an indiscriminate massacre of all prominent adherents of the old Muhammadan dynasty.

§ 53. *Seventeenth King, A. D.* 1320.—The accession of Násir-ud-din KHUSRAU KHAN signalised a transient eclipse of Muslim prestige in India. He took the Princess Dewál Deví into his

own seraglio, and distributed other Muhammadan women to infidel masters. By his style and titles he seems outwardly to have professed Islám; but the Muhammadan historians are pathetic in their accounts of the indignities inflicted on their religion by him. Had he been a man of good birth—one whom the Hindú Princes could have acknowledged as *Mahárájá Adhiráj*—the danger to the Muhammadan power might have been great. As it was, the Hindús themselves did not sympathise with this unclean *Pariah*; who was soon in his turn defeated and put to death by Ghází Beg Tughlak, the Governor of Daibalpur in the Panjáb.

PART IV. THE DYNASTY OF TUGHLAK. A. D. 1320—1412.

§ 54. Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak. § 55. Muhammad bin Tughlak. § 56. Disintegration of the Dehli Empire. § 57. Muhammad's insane projects. § 58. His forced currency. § 59. Fírúz Sháh. § 60 Events of his reign. § 61. His public buildings. § 62. His sons. § 63. Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak II. § 64. Abúbakr. § 65. Násir-ud-dín Muhammad. § 66. Humáyún bin Tughlak. § 67. Mahmúd bin Muhammad. § 68. The invasion of Tímúr. § 69. Restoration of Mahmúd. § 70 Nusrat Sháh.

§ 54. *Eighteenth King, A. D.* 1320—1325 The accession of Ghiás-ud-dín TUGHLAK SHAH brings us to the fourth epoch of the early Muhammadan history [*see* § 1]. He belonged to a Túrkí family. He at first affected some reluctance in accepting the vacant throne. His rule was inaugurated by wise regulations tending to the relief and well-being of the cultivators of the soil; and most of his acts appear to have been of a benevolent and just character. In an expedition to Bengal in A. D. 1324, he received the submission of Shaháb-ud-dín Bughrá Sháh and carried his turbulent brother, Bahádúr Sháh, of *Eastern* Bengal (the territory of Sunárganw), captive to Dehli [*see* § 86]. The heir-apparent, Fakr-ud-dín Júná or Ulugh Khán, who had led two expeditions into the Dakhin (the last one having been brilliantly successful), was left as Viceroy of Dehli. When his father, the old Sultán, returned in triumph from Bengal in company with his favourite son, Ulugh Khán received them near Dehli in a wooden pavilion which was cunningly devised to fall and crush its occupants. Ulugh Khán contrived to be absent at the time of the catastrophe which killed his father and brother.

In an inscription quoted by Ibn Batutah, this monarch declared that he had encountered the Tatárs on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them.

§ 55. *Nineteenth King, A.D.* 1325—1351.—Ulugh Khán succeeded under the title of MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK; and in spite of the fact that his cruelties made him hated and feared by all, he reigned for twenty-seven years. He was an able man, generous to profusion, an accomplished scholar, abstinent, a stern defender

of his faith, and the most experienced general of his day. Against these many merits had to be set a determination which hesitated at no means in the compassing of his own ends; a ferocity possibly inherited from the desert tribes which could conceive no punishment effectual but death, combined with a perversion of intellect which induced him to allow despotism to run into insane fury at any sign of opposition to his will. His mind was cast to know no mercy or compassion as a judge, and he was led to carry out his best intentioned measures with an utter disregard of human suffering; as instanced in the transportation, in some cases* with brutal violence, of the inoffensive citizens of Dehli in a mass, for the mere purpose of filling his newly-created city of Deogiri.

§ 56. At first, his dominions were more extensive than any that had been possessed by any of his predecessors; but they were utterly incoherent, and the empire fell to pieces during his reign. The causes of the dissolution of the empire are to be sought for—(1) in the lukewarm loyalty of governors of provinces, now that the tie of nationality (so effective formerly among the ruling classes under the Túrkí dynasties) had disappeared amid the dissensions of the Túrkís and the Khiljís; (2) in the extent of the empire and the fact of the Sultán generally having to command his own armies—for though he was usually victorious, the very fact of his absence in distant parts encouraged the disaffected elsewhere; (3) in the state of the roads and the general insecurity of the country. A rebellion in Bengal in 1340 was completely successful; the Sultán's early triumph, Warangal (which he had re-named Sultánpur) reverted to its ancient name in the hands of other masters; Deogiri, his chosen capital, submitted to Hasan Gango, the founder of a new race of kings, the Bahmani dynasty of Kalbargah, who were destined to play a prominent part in the history of the country [*see* Chap. IV., § 8]; and finally Muhammad bin Tughlak, the owner of so many kingdoms, died miserably of a fever near Tatta, on the lower Indus—and his nephew and successor, with the army, had some difficulty in getting back to Dehli.

§ 57. Muhammad had at one time intended to invade Persia; but his vast army was disbanded after the consumption of all his treasures. He then projected the conquest of China, which was to replenish his coffers. A hundred thousand men marched across the Himálayas; but attacked by the mountaineers and the Chinese, and worn out with fatigue and famine, hardly a man returned

§ 58. In order to meet all these expenses, he attempted to introduce brass medals instead of money; imitating the paper-currency of China, of which he had heard. The result, however,

* Of two men, one bedridden and the other blind, who were found by the king's servants lagging behind in Dehli, the former was projected from a catapult; the latter was dragged by the feet to Deogiri, a ten days' journey—at the end of which only one leg was remaining to represent the unfortunate wretch.

was an utter failure, which increased his own poverty and the sufferings of the people. He also attempted on his coins to remedy the deficiency of his title to the crown, by substituting for his own name that of an Egyptian scion of the Abbaside Khalifs who was already dead.

§ 59. *Twentieth King, A. D.* 1351-1388.—FIRUZ SHÁH, the nephew of the late king, succeeded him. Kwájah-i Jahán, the minister in charge of Dehli, believing a report of the death of Fírúz, had set up a supposititious son of Muhammad bin Tughlak; but on the arrival of Fírúz, he paid for his mistake with his life. Fírúz appears to have been a very weak character, addicted to wine, devoted to the chase, credulous, but affable and merciful to an extent that in less quiet times might have proved disastrous.

§ 60. After two unskilfully-conducted campaigns in Bengal, he acknowledged the independence of that province, and also of the Dakhin. He had successively two very able Vazírs, father and son, both called Khán-i-Jahán, Hindús of Telingánah; and for the greater part of his reign he resigned all administrative functions to these men and devoted himself to the exercise of his taste for building, canal-making, and the like.

§ 61. Fírúz Sháh's speciality was the construction and repair of public works; and the amount executed under his orders, though doubtless exaggerated by the historians, was certainly very large. His most important work was the construction of a double system of canals for the supply of his new city of Hisár Fírúzah, the headwaters of which were drawn both from the Jamnah and the Satlaj; the former branch is still used.

§ 62. Three of the sons of Fírúz Sháh—*viz.*, Fath Khán, Zafar Khán and Násir-ud-dín Mumammad bin Fírúz—were successively associated with him in the sovereignty, and their names appear with his on the coins. The last-named was compelled to flee from the metropolis by two of his cousins; who proclaimed that the Sultán had abdicated in favour of his grandson Ghis-ud-dín, the son of the deceased Fath Khán. In the following year Fírúz Sháh died.

§ 63. *Twenty-first King, A. D.* 1388.—GHIAS-UD-DIN TUGHLAK SHAH II., immediately on the death of Fírúz, assumed the full insignia of royalty; and endeavoured to capture the fugitive Muhammad bin Fírúz. Muhammad escaped to Nagarkot; and the young Sultán was content to give himself up to unbridled dissipation in the capital, leaving the management of his kingdom to his ministers. One of these, named Rukn Chand, the Náib Vazír, put forward Abúbakr Sháh, the son of Zafar Khán, as a claimant for the throne; and Tughlak Sháh, in attempting to escape from his palace towards the Jamnah, was overtaken and killed.

§ 64. *Twenty-second King, A. D.* 1389.—On the accession of ABUBAKR bin Zafar Khán, his prime-minister Rukn Chand began to intrigue against him; but a confederacy of nobles attached

to the house of Tughlak soon put the treacherous Vazír to death. Muhammad Sháh came out from Nagarkot to assert his own claims; was unsuccessful in several campaigns; but being at last joined by Islám Sháh, a very powerful noble (a member of the Association called "the Slaves of Fírúz Sháh"), he succeeded in ousting Abúbakr, who died in prison at Mírat.

§ 65. *Twenty-third King, A. D.* 1389—1392.—NASIR-UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD bin Fírúz Sháh reigned three years, during which he suppressed a rebellion of the Rájá of Etáwah, and destroyed his fort. Islám Khán, himself a converted Hindú, was put to death on the false testimony of his own nephew, an unconverted Hindú; and Kwájah Jahán (afterwards the founder of the powerful dynasty of Jaunpur) was made Vazír. In the following year the Sultán died.

§ 66. *Twenty-fourth King, A. D.* 1392.—Humáyún, the son of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad, succeeded his father; but died after a brief reign of forty-five days.

§ 67. *Twenty-fifth King. A. D.* 1392—1412.—MAHMUD bin Muhammad Sháh was perhaps the most insignificant of all the feeble successors of Fírúz Sháh. Insurrections soon sprang up on all sides, resulting in the loss of whole provinces, which now formed independent kingdoms. Prominent among these was Jaunpur in Bengal, where Mahmúd's own Vazír, Kwájah Jahán, founded a powerful monarchy. Zafar Khán followed his example in Gujarát, under the title of Muzaffar Sháh; Diláwar Khán in Malwah, and others elsewhere. In A. D. 1394, Nusrat Khán, a son of Fath Khán, and grandson of Fírúz, was proclaimed Sultán by some powerful nobles in opposition to Mahmúd; and remained for about three years in possession of the new capital of Fírúzábád, Mahmúd retaining possession of Dehli. At length a powerful nobleman named Mullú Ikbál Khán, having deceived and ruined Nusrat Khán, got possession of the person of Mahmúd, and carried on the government in his name.

§ 68. In A. D. 1398, the storm of the invasion of Tímúr broke on Dehli. He was the leader of the Túrki and Mughul hordes that had subdued all Central and Western Asia. He is sometimes called Tamerlane by European writers. His chief cities were Bukhára and Samarkhand. On the defeat of the Indian army, the surrender and subsequent merciless sack of Dehli followed; and for five days, the Mughul conqueror continued feasting, while his troops plundered and destroyed the hapless citizens of the ill-fated capital. For two months after the departure of Tímúr, the city remained in a state of complete anarchy; then Nusrat Khán obtained possession of it for a short time; and finally it fell once more into the hands of Mullú Ikbál Khán.*

* According to the *Tarikh-i Mubárak Sháhi*, the following is the list of the distribution of the empire after the departure of Tímúr:—Mullú Ikbál Khán held Dehli and the Doáb; Zafar Khán (with whom the Sultán Mahmúd at first took refuge), Gujarát; Khizr Khán, Multán, Daibalpur, Sind; Mahmúd Khán, Mahobah and Kálpi; Khwájah-i-Jahán, Kanauj, Oudh, Karrah, Dalmau, Sandila, Bharaich, Bihar, Jaunpur; Diláwar Khán, Dhar; Ghálib Khán, Samánah; Shams Khán, Biánah.

§ 69. The latter was soon joined by the Sultán Mahmúd, who had taken refuge in Gujarát. On a war breaking out between Ikbál Khán and the Sultán of Jaunpur, Mahmúd deserted to Jaunpur; but was subsequently settled by consent of both belligerents in the kingdom of Kanauj. After the death of Ikbál Khán, Mahmúd was brought back to Dehli by Daúlat Khán Lodí and some other chiefs; and remained there, but without any real power, until his death in 1412 A. D., when the Tughlak dynasty became extinct.

§ 70. *Twenty-sixth King, A.D.* 1395.—Nusrat Sháh is included in the list of kings. His history is given above; we have no account of his end.

PART V. THE SAYYID AND LODI DYNASTIES. A. D. 1412—1526.

§ 71. Fifth Epoch. § 72. Daulat Khán Lodí. § 73. Khizr Khán, the first Sayyid. § 74. The Sayyid Mubárak. § 75. The Sayyid Muhammad. § 76. The Sayyid Alá-ud-dín. § 77. Buhlol Lodí. § 78. Sikandar Lodí. § 79. Ibráhím Lodí. § 80. End of the Afghán dynasties.

§ 71. The death of Mahmúd Tughlak brings us to the *Fifth Epoch* of the early Muhammadan history [*see* § 1].

§ 72. *Twenty-seventh King, A.D.* 1412—1414.—On the death of Mahmúd, the notables of Dehli elected DAULAT KHAN LODI to be their leader. He never assumed the insignia of royalty; but ruled much in the same way as Mullú Ikbal Khán had ruled in Mahmúd's time, except that Daulat Khán had no living nominal suzerain. He issued money bearing the name of Fírúz Sháh, or one of his successors; a curious affectation which was continued under the Sayyids, and which is exactly analogous to the issue, in later times, by the English, of sicca rupees bearing the name and date of Sháh Alam. Daulat Khán was at length conquered by Khizr Khán, the Governor whom Tímúr had left in Multán.

§ 73. *Twenty-eighth King, A.D.* 1414—1421.—KHIZR KHAN (the first of the Sayyid dynasty) had been governor of Multán under Fírúz Sháh; and siding with Tímúr in his invasion, had been allowed by that conqueror to regain possession of his government. His inglorious reign of seven years at Dehli was spent in idleness and luxury; his Vazír, Taj-ul-Mulk, in the meanwhile, vainly endeavouring to extend the authority of the Imperial Court. The virtues of this excellent minister have been erroneously assigned by many historians to his master.

§ 74. *Twenty-ninth King, A. D.* 1421—1433.—Muizz-ud-dín MUBARAK SHAH II. succeeded on the death of his father. There is, however, but little of interest to be found in the thirteen years of incessant provincial warfare of this reign. There were some successful campaigns in Rohilkhand; but Mubárak was continually harassed by the Gakkhars in the Panjáb, and by Mughul raids organised by Sháh Rúkh's Governor of Kábul. Mubárak

was murdered by some Hindú assassins at the instigation of his Vazír, Sarwar-ul-Mulk, himself a Hindú.

§ 75. *Thirtieth King, A.D.* 1433—1443.—MUHAMMAD bin Farid, a grandson of Khizr Khán and nephew of the murdered king, was immediately proclaimed by the Vazír. The latter proceeded to appropriate the royal treasures and to carry on the government as he liked; but some nobles rose against him and besieged him in Siri (a part of Dehli); and in a conflict between a band of assassins (sent by him to murder the Sultán) and some loyal adherents of Muhammad, the Vazír was slain.

For a short time Muhammad ruled well and with energy; but he soon relapsed into indolence and dissipation. The Sultán of Jaunpur seized some of his dominions; and Mahmúd Khiljí, king of Málwah, even attacked the capital itself. Muhammad was relieved from his difficulties by Buhlol Lodí, governor of Láhor; who, however, subsequently turned his arms against his nominal suzerain—though with no immediate success.

§ 76. *Thirty-first King, A. D.* 1443—1451.—Alam Sháh, better known as ALA-UD-DIN bin Muhammad, succeeded on the death of his father; but was not acknowledged by the all-powerful Buhlol Lodí, who made another unsuccessful attempt upon Dehli. The Sultán now withdrew his court to Budáon. His Vazír, Hamíd Khán, falling into disgrace, fled to Dehli from Budáon: and treacherously opened the gates of that capital to Buhlol Lodí. Shortly afterwards, Alam Sháh agreed to resign the empire to the latter, on condition of being allowed to live in peace at Budáon. Thus ended the dynasty of the Sayyids. [For the meaning of the word *Sayyid*, *see* Introduction, § 18].

§ 77. *Thirty-second King, A. D.* 1450—1488.—The vigorous rule of the Afghán, BUHLOL LODI, forms a strong contrast to the weakness of his immediate predecessors. With energy and success he reduced his local governors to submission. A prolonged war of twenty-six years with the kings of Jaunpur, with varying success, ultimately terminated in the complete annexation of that kingdom; and the Sultán placed his own son Bárbak in charge of the government. At his death in 1488, his authority was acknowledged from the Panjáb to Bengal.

§ 78. *Thirty-third King, A. D.* 1488—1517.—Nizám had been nominated the heir to the crown by his father Buhlol; and he accordingly ascended the imperial *masnad* with the title of SIKANDAR SHAH, though not without some opposition from his elder brother Bárbak. The latter had been assigned the throne of Jaunpur, at the time when the old Sultán divided his dominions; and he now refused to have the *Khutbah* or public prayer recited in Jaunpur in the name of his younger brother. War broke out, in which Bárbak was defeated, but he was subsequently forgiven and restored to his government. During the succeeding years the Sultán was occupied in the subjugation of Sultán Sharf, which was completed by the capture of his stronghold of Bíánah; and in the suppression of two formidable insurrections

in Jaunpur and Oudh. In A. D. 1491, Sikandar conquered the whole of Bihár; dispossessing Husain, the last of the former royal line of Jaunpur, who took refuge with Alá-ud-dín, king of Bengal. With the last-named monarch he concluded a treaty, settling boundaries and other questions of rights. In A. D. 1503, the Sultán for the first time fixed his residence at Agrah; which from this time was to supersede Dehli as the capital of Hindústán. Sikandar's reign was disgraced by an unusual display of bigotry, evidenced principally in a persevering destruction of Hindú temples, on the sites of which were raised Muslim mosques.

§ 79. *Thirty-fourth King, A.D.* 1517—1530.—IBRÁHÍM succeeded his father Sikandar. His arrogance disgusted many of the nobles, especially those of his own tribe of Lodí, who speedily sought to reduce his power by placing his brother Jalál on the throne of Jaunpur. The latter, finding that his position was not a very secure one and that his adherents were not to be trusted, determined on bold measures; and endeavoured to oust his brother, proclaiming himself Sultán under the title of Jalál-ud-dín. After some temporary successes, he was captured and put to death.

The cruelties practised by Ibráhím on the suppression of this rebellion caused a general hostility to him. The viceroy of Bihár assumed independence; Daulat Lodí, the governor of some of the dependencies of the Panjáb, then rebelled, and called in the aid of Bábar and his Mughuls. Bábar had already, in A.D. 1524, obtained possession of Lahor. The first expedition against Ibráhím led by his own uncle Alá-ud-dín, brother of Sikandar, was unsuccessful; but Bábar soon followed in person, and Ibráhím lost his kingdom and his life at the celebrated battle of PANIPAT, on the 7th of Rajab, A.H. 932. [A.D. 1526].

§ 80. Thus ended the last of the pre-Mughul dynasties of Dehli. These dynasties have been called the *Pathán*, or the *Afghán* kings of Dehli; but most of them were not Afghán, but Túrkí (Tatár) in their origin.

PART VI. OTHER STATES OF HINDUSTAN DURING THE EARLY MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

§ 81. Rivals of the Dehli Empire. § 82. Bakhtiár Khiljí founds a Kingdom in Bengal. § 83. General Character of the Bengal History. § 84. Successors of Bakhtiár Khiljí. § 85. Tughral. § 86. The Balbaní Dynasty. § 87. Hájí Ilías establishes the Independence of Bengal. § 88. His Successors. § 89. Bengal ultimately conquered by the Mughuls. § 90. History of Jaunpur. § 91. Gujarát. § 92. Málwah. § 93. Maiwár.

§ 81. In our account of the early Muhammadan dynasties of Dehli, we have noticed occasionally that these monarchs came in contact at various times with other sovereigns both of Hindústán and of the Dakhin; it will be well for the student to obtain a somewhat more connected view of the history of some of

these states. Those of the Dakhin have been noticed in Chapter I., Part XV.; or will be noticed in the fourth chapter. Some of the rival states of Hindústán also (*e. g.*, Maiwár) have been noticed in the first chapter, as purely Hindú States. With the exception of Maiwár, however, all those dynasties of which we are going to give a short account, were Muhammadan; and were often merely rebellious off-shoots of the Dehli Empire. They are those of Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarát, and Málwah.

§ 82. *Bengal.* When Muhammad Ghori had so far settled his conquest in Hindústán as to be able to leave them to his viceroy Kutb-ud-dín and to return to Ghazní, his other lieutenants in the various outlying provinces tried to extend the frontiers of Islám beyond the limits already acquired. One of these named Muhammad Bakhtíár Khiljí, was Sipahsálár (commander of the forces) in Oudh. He in A.D. 1203 pushed his conquests southward; and expelling the ancient Hindú dynasty [the Sens, *see* Chap. I., § 85] of Naddea, he acquired the kingdom of Bengal in almost independent sovereignty, though he continued to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of Muhammad. He fixed his capital at Lakhnantí or Gaur; and the throne thus founded, lasted, with varying fortune and under sovereigns of various families, until its final extinction under Akbar [*see* Chapter III., § 35].

§ 83. Up to the time of the Emperor Fírúz Sháh III., in A.D. 1353, the fortunes of this dynasty were closely connected with those of the imperial crown of Dehli; and have been occasionally noticed in the preceding sections of this chapter. Generally the same ruler was lord of the whole of Bengal; sometimes the power was contested between the lords of two or more of the various capitals, Lakhnautí or Gaur, Sunárganw, Sátganw, Pandua, &c. Lakhnautí was generally the capital of the western division, and Sunárganw (near the present site of Dacca) of the eastern division, of the province. Sometimes the Bengal Kings were altogether independent; generally, however, they were coerced into a more or less strict feudal submission; and sometimes they were themselves the sons or near relatives of the Dehli monarch, ruling as his viceroys.

From the time of Fírúz Sháh III. to that of Akbar, the Kingdom of Bengal was virtually independent except in the time of Sher Sháh.

§ 84. The successors of Bakhtíár Khiljí were forced by Altamsh [*see* § 26] to submit to Dehli; and Násir-ud-din, the eldest son of the latter, was made Viceroy, in A. D. 1227. He died during the life-time of Altamsh; and was succeeded by a younger brother of the same name, who became the Emperor Násir-ud-dín [*see* § 31].

§ 85. Tughral, who was governor during the latter part of the reign of Balban, assumed independence. His revolt was suppressed [*see* § 33]; and Bughrá Khán, son of Balban, was appointed Viceroy.

§ 86. The eldest son of Bughrá Khán succeeded to the throne of Dehli as the Emperor Kaikubád [see § 35]; his second son, Kai Káús, succeeded him in Bengal; and the family remained in possession of the throne for several reigns.

One of the grandsons of Bughrá Khán (named Shahábo-ud-dín) submitted to Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak, and the other, named Bahádúr Sháh, King of Sunárganw, was carried prisoner to Dehli [see § 54]. Bahádúr was reinstated by Muhammad bin Tughlak; but again revolting, was defeated and slain by the imperial forces, and his stuffed skin was sent about the country as a warning to refractory governors.

§ 87. Almost immediately after this atrocity, Fakr-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh proclaimed his independence in Sunárganw; but great anarchy prevailed; and it was not until Shams-ud-dín Ilíás, commonly called Hájí Ilíás, checked the arms of Fírúz Sháh in A.D. 1353, that Bengal became really independent.

§ 88. The dynasty of Hájí Ilíás reigned, with some interruptions, for more than a century. At one time a Hindú dynasty, founded by Rájá Kans, obtained power for a short time. At a later period, Bengal was ruled by a short-lived dynasty of Abyssinian slaves; and the succession was much broken in the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the 16th centuries.

§ 89. Sultán Alá-ud-dín, a Sayyid, succeeded the Abyssinians in 1489. He gave an asylum to the unfortunate Husain Sháh of Jaunpur, when the latter was defeated by Buhlol Lodí of Dehli; but subsequently was compelled to make an alliance with Sikandar Lodí. Two of his sons reigned after him; the last, Mahmúd Sháh, was expelled by Sher Sháh in 1538; and though restored by Humáyún, he died shortly afterwards.

Members of the family of Sher Sháh ruled in Bengal until 1564; when Sulaimán Sháh, of the Kararání clan of Afgháns obtained the throne. He made peace with Akbar's general Munim Khán. The subjugation of Sulaimán's son, Dáúd, by Akbar and his generals, is narrated in Chapter III., § 35.

§ 90. *Jaunpur.* We now turn to the history of Jaunpur. The Vazír of the Emperor Mahmúd Tughlak, named Kwájah Jahán, was appointed Governor of Jaunpur with the title *Malik-us-Shark.* In 1393 he asserted his independence; and the dynasty thus founded, and usually called the *Sharkí* dynasty, lasted until its suppression by Buhlol Lodí in 1474. Ibráhím Sháh Sharkí came to the throne in 1401; in his reign the kingdom became very powerful, and Jaunpur became a magnificent city. His wars with Ikbál Khán (in which Mahmúd was concerned) have been noticed in § 69. Ibráhím's son, Mahmúd, succeeded in A. D. 1440. He attacked Dehli, which was under the weak rule of the two last Sayyids; but was repulsed by Buhlol Lodí. When the latter came to the throne of Dehli, he attacked Jaunpur, defeated Husain Sháh in 1474, and settled his son Bárbak as viceroy in the capital.

§ 91. *Gujarát.* Owing their existence to the feebleness of the successors of Fírúz Sháh, were the Muhammadan dynasties

of Gujarát, and Málwah (Mándú). Zafar Khán was appointed governor of Gujarát by Muhammád bin Fírúz, and eventually assumed independence, under the title of Muzaffar Sháh, in A.D. 1390. Ahmad Sháh, the grandson of this prince, founded Ahmadábád and Ahmadnagar about A. D. 1420. Muzaffar Sháh II., who came to the throne in 1511, is celebrated for his contests with the famous Ráná Sangá of Maiwár [*see* § 93]. Bahádúr Sháh in 1531 conquered and annexed Málwah; and after many contests with the Dehli troops was at last put to death by the Portuguese at Diu. The kingdom was finally annexed to Akbar's dominions in A.D. 1571.

§ 92. *Málwah.* The dynasty of Málwah was founded by Diláwar Khán *Ghori* in A.D. 1401. He had been appointed governor by Fírúz Tughlak in 1387; deserting Ujjain, the ancient Hindú capital, he set up his residence at Dhar, and declared himself king. His son Alp Khán, who succeeded him under the name of Húshang, founded and strongly fortified Mándú. In 1435, the Ghorí dynasty was put aside, and a Khiljí substituted for it; and under Mahmúd, the first of the Khiljí princes, the Muslim State of Málwah was at its zenith. At this period its boundaries embraced the cities of Chanderí, Islámábád, Húshangábád, and Kirlah (the capital of Gondwana); extending on the south to the Sátpúra range, on the west to the frontier of Gujarát, and on the east to Bundelkhand; while northwards the limits were marked by Maiwár and Hárauti, with occasional tribute from Chítor. Málwah was at length conquered and annexed by Bahádúr Sháh of Gujarát, in 1531 [*See* § 91].

§ 93. *Maiwár.* The Rájpút State of Maiwár, ruled over by a dynasty of *Gehlot* Rájpúts, rose into temporary importance during the weak reigns of the successors of Fírúz Sháh; and was only suppressed by the greater vigour of the Mughuls who followed them. The representative of the Gehlot kings of Maiwár at the present day is the Maháráná of Udaipur; who is reckoned as the noblest of the princes of India, and bears amongst other hereditary titles that of "the Sun of the Hindús."

The capital of his ancestors (who were said to be descended from Ráma) was Vallabhi in Gujarát; whence they were expelled by an invasion of Persians [*see* Chapter I., § 83]. The Vallabhi prince Goha married a daughter of Naushirván, the Persian king; she was a grand-daughter of Maurice, the Christian Emperor of Constantinople. Hence the Maháránás of Udaipur are lineally descended from a royal Christian family.

From Rájá Goha was descended Rájá Bápú, who is said to have resisted Muhammad Kásim [*see* § 4]. The descendant of Bápú in A. D. 1440, was Ráná Khumbo of Maiwár; who in that year defeated the combined forces of Málwah and Gujarát, and captured Mahmúd Khiljí the king of Málwah. The splendid *Jaya Stambha*, or "Pillar of Victory," still to be seen at Chítor, commemorates this victory.

The grandson of Khumbo, the celebrated Ráná Sangá, was finally defeated by Bábar at Fathpur Sikri in 1527 [*see* Chapter III., § 7]. Another struggle for empire was made by the Rájpúts against Akbar, under Udai Singh; terminated by the sack of Chitor in 1567.

PART VII. MUHAMMADAN LITERATURE.

§ 94. Character of the Muhammadan Literature. § 95. Firishtah. § 96. Abul Fazl. § 97. Feizi. § 98. Ibn Batutah. § 99. Khát. Khán. § 100. Other Historians. § 101. Poets.

§ 94. Whilst the sacred canon of the Muhammadans was in Arabic, the bulk of their general literature has been written in Persian

A remarkable change in the character of the literature of India is observable at the time of the Muhammadan invasions. At this period, for the first time, we obtain numerous and valuable *historical* works. This taste for historical literature was inherited from the Arabs by the Indian Muhammadans. The Arabs had been, during the latter part of the Dark Ages in Europe, the chief cultivators of science; and Arabic literature had at a very early period attained a high stage of development. The Persian literature of India was largely indebted to the scholarship of the Arabs. It will be sufficient for our present purpose, if we notice a few of the chief historians and poets, authors of the most famous works, both during the period of which we have treated in this chapter, and during the Mughul period.

§ 95. The most celebrated historian of India was FIRISHTAH, who was born at Ahmadnagar about A. D. 1570. He lived at the court of Ibráhím Adil Sháh II. of Bíjápur, from A. D. 1589 to about 1612; and to that monarch he dedicated his great work, the *Tarikh Firishtah*. This is a general history of India, commencing A. D. 975, and terminating with 1605. It was translated into English by Dow; and has been the foundation of the history of the Muhammadan period in India, as given in most standard English works.

§ 96. Hardly less celebrated are the works of ABUL FAZL, the prime minister of Akbar [*see* Chap. III., § 54]. Of these the two most important are:—(1) the *Áín-i-Akbarí*, or *Institutes* of Akbar, containing a minute account of every department of government, of every part of the Empire, and of everything connected with the Emperor's establishments, public and private; (2) the *Akbar Námeh*, a copious but very adulatory history of the Emperor Akbar during the first forty-seven years of his reign, to which is prefixed an abridged history of his ancestors.

§ 97. The brother of Abul Fazl, named FEIZI, was also a very learned man and a great writer. He especially devoted his attention to Sanskrit literature; and translated into Persian many great Sanskrit works, including the Mahábharata.

§ 98. In 1341, an African traveller, named IBN BATUTAH, visited Dehli. He was received with great respect, and appointed to the office of Judge by the king, Muhammad bin Tughlak [*see* § 55]. Seeing, however, some evidence of Muhammad's capricious and cruel temper, he resigned his office. The king, without taking offence, attached him to an embassy to China, and thus honourably dismissed him. His *Travels* (which have been translated into English and French) contain very valuable accounts of India.

§ 99. The chief historian of the later Mughul period, was Mír Muhammad, better known as KHAFI KHAN. Aurangzeb [*see* Chap. III., § 84], strictly ordered that no history should be written; but Mír Muhammad wrote his history in secret during the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign (about A. D. 1700); and hence obtained the title Khafi Khán (= *the concealed*).

§ 100. There are many other historians, to whose works (some in Arabic, but mostly in Persian) we need only briefly allude. Sultán BABAR wrote *Memoirs* of his own life which are most graphic and interesting; they were originally written in Túrkí, but were translated into Persian. Utbí wrote the *Tarikh Yamíní*, the history of the period of Sabaktigín and his great successor Mahmúd. Hasan Nizám wrote the *Taj-ul-maásir*, memoirs of the lives of Muhammad Ghori, Kutb-ud-dín, and Altamsh. It was written at Dehli about the year 1210; it is partly in verse, and contains much Arabic. A more important history is that of MINHAJ-US-SIRAJ; whose work, the *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, is the most trustworthy authority for the history contained in the present chapter down to the accession of Balban. Two valuable histories of the later part of the period described in the present chapter, are both called *Tarikh-i-Fírúz-Sháhí*,—one being written by ZIA-UD-DIN BARNI, the other by SHAMS-I-SIRAJ ÁFIF. Other historians are Abdul-Kádir BADAONI and Nizam-ud-dín Ahmad, who wrote in the time of Akbar; Muatimad Khán, who wrote the *Jahángír-Námeh*; Muhammad bin Saleh, who wrote the *Sháh-Jahán-Námeh*; Mírzá Muhammad Kásim, who wrote the *Alamgír-Námeh*; and Sayyid Ghulám Husain Khán, a relative of the Nawáb Alívardi Khán (*see* Chap. IX., § 2), who wrote a history of the eighteenth century in Hindústán, in the year 1783.

§ 101. Amongst many others, we may mention three very famous Muhammadan poets of India:—Ferdúsi, Ansari and Amír Khusrau.

ANSARI and FERDUSI were both ornaments of the court of Mahmúd of Ghazní. The latter has been called the "Persian Homer;" he wrote the *Sháh Námeh* in praise of Mahmúd.

AMIR KHUSRAU was one of the illustrious literary exiles who fled from Persia to the Court of Balban to avoid the Mughuls. He wrote an immense amount of poetry, some of which has been considered very beautiful; two of his most celebrated poems are (1) on the loves of Khizr Khán and Dewál Deví [*see* § 47], and (2) on the meeting between the Emperor Kaikubád and his father Bughrá Khán [*see* § 35].

CHAPTER III.

THE MUGHUL EMPERORS.

PART I. BABAR. A. D. 1526—1530.

§ 1. Accession of the Mughuls. § 2. Table of Mughul Emperors. § 3. Bábar's descent and early life. § 4. Battle of Pánipat. § 5. State of India. § 6. Conquest of Hindústán. § 7. Sangá. § 8. Conquest of Bihár and Bengal. § 9. Death of Bábar. § 10. His character.

§ 1. The first battle of Pánipat opened India to Bábar and his Mughuls. This chapter will trace the history of this powerful dynasty for 222 years, from Bábar their founder to Muhammád Bahádúr Sháh, the last who bore the title of Emperor of Dehli, who died in prison in a distant land dishonoured and unpitied.

§ 2. The following Table is given for reference:

THE MUGHUL EMPERORS.

I.	Bábar	1526—1530	
II.	Humáyún	1530—1556	He was in exile 16 years.
III.	Akbar	1556—1605	Came to the throne two years before Queen Elizabeth, and survived her two years.
IV.	Jahángír ...	1605—1628	Sir T. Roe. The empress Núr Jahán.
V.	Sháh Jahán...	1628—1658	The architect.
VI.	Aurangzeb (or Alamgír)	1658—1707	The deceitful and bigoted: the last of the great Mughuls.
VII.	Sháh Alam I. (or Bahádúr Sháh)	1707—1712	Concessions to the Mahrattas.
VIII.	Jahándár Sháh	1712—1713	The Sayyids. Murdered.
IX.	Farrúkh Siyar	1713—1719	The Peshwás. Assassinated.
X.	Rafi-ud-daraját	1719—Feb.	Mere puppets of the Sayyids, removed by prison or disease within three months.
XI.	Rafi-ud-daulah	1719—May	
XII.	Muhammad Sháh ...	1719—1748	Disintegration of the Empire.
XIII.	Ahmad Sháh ...	1748—1754	Blinded and deposed.
XIV.	Alamgír II.... ...	1754—1759	Plassey. Murdered.
XV.	Sháh Alam II. ...	1759—1806	Rescued by Lord Lake.
XVI.	Akbar II.	1806—1837	A mere pensioner.
XVII.	Muhammad Bahádúr	1837—1857	The helper of the mutineers.

§ 3. Sultán Bábar demands our especial attention, as being the founder of the Mughul Indian empire, and the first of a dynasty of renowned emperors, under whom India rose to the highest prosperity. He was descended, by the father's side, from Tímúr (Tamerlane) the Tatár; but his mother was a Mughul connected with the tribe of Changiz Khán. This race was detested by him; yet, strange to say, from it his dynasty got its name. Different members of Tímúr's family held Samarkhand, Bukhára, Balkh (Bactria), Kábul, and Kokán (then called Farghánah). This last was Bábar's hereditary dominion. His real name was Zahír-ud-dín-Muhammad. His life, till A.D. 1524, was a succession of struggles; in the course of which he sometimes extended his sway as far as to Kandahár, and sometimes was a fugitive; thrice occupying his paternal city of Samarkhand, and thrice expelled from it.

§ 4. His uncertain tenure of power in those regions caused him to turn his attention to India, which had now for some time been in a state of anarchy; the Lodís possessing little beyond Dehli and Agrah. By one of the revolted chiefs, Daulat Khán Lodí, the viceroy of the Panjáb, he was invited to seize upon what he considered to be his inheritance, as he was descended from the conqueror Tímúr. It was not until after four unsuccessful expeditions (1519—26) that he gained his end. The first battle of Pánipat (Chap. II., § 79) gave him nothing but the small tract around Dehli and Agrah. From the spoils of Agrah he sent a coin of the value of about ten pence to every man, woman, and child, slave or free, in the district of Kábul, where he had reigned; besides rich gifts to the chief Muhammadan shrines in Asia.

§ 5. The other parts of the Empire were still held by revolted chieftains. From the time of the magnificent madman Muhammad Tughlak (1351), there had been no real empire of Dehli. [Chap. II., § 56]. Thus, Bihár was in the possession of Muhammad Sháh Lohání; a part of Málwah and the surrounding districts were held by Sangá; Chanderi and the adjacent country by Medni Rái; and Bengal by Nazíb Sháh, son of the Sayyíd Sultán Alá-ud-dín [*see* Chap. II., § 89]. The Dakhin, which had been independent since 1347, was now divided into five Musalmán kingdoms, besides the Hindú kingdom of Bijánagar, called by Europeans *Narsingha* (Chap. IV., § 11). The Portuguese had conquered Goa in A. D. 1510; and though the great Albuquerque had died in A. D. 1515, they were still very powerful on the western coast (Chap. VI., § 12).

§ 6. It was evidently the general impression, even among Bábar's own troops, that after plundering Agrah and Dehli, he would, like Tímúr, return to the regions west of the Indus. This intention, however, he emphatically disclaimed. He had come to found a Tatár Empire in India. Prince Humáyún, Bábar's eldest son, was accordingly employed to reduce to obedience the various Musalmán chieftains. In four months this was effected from Gwáliár to Jaunpur.

§ 7. A more stubborn enemy was the Hindú *Sangá*, the Rájpút prince of Maiwár [*see* Chap. II., § 93]. The Rájás of Marwár and Jaipur had joined him, and also Medni Rái of Chanderi. *This was the last great struggle of the Rajpúts for empire.* *Sangá* had formerly intrigued against the Lodís; and now resolved to expel, if possible, the Musalmáns from India. The question to be answered was, "Shall there ever again be a *Kshatriya* Empire of Hindústán?" The decisive battle of Fathpur Sikri (February 1527), and the storming of Chanderi (January 1528), firmly established the Mughul throne. The defenders of this last fortress perished to a man in the desperate struggle. Thus fell Medni, who was next to Sangá as a Rájpút leader.

§ 8. Bíhár and Bengal were next attacked; and by May, 1529, these provinces had submitted to Bábar's arms.

§ 9. Bábar's death is remarkable. Humáyún, his eldest son, was dangerously ill; when Bábar conceived the idea of offering his own life for his son's, according to a well-known eastern custom. In the accomplishment of this loving resolve, he walked round the bed of the sick youth three times, praying solemnly to God that the disease might be transferred to himself. After this act, he exclaimed, in the full belief that his prayer was heard, "I have borne it away." And strange to say, Humáyún recovered from that hour; while the father, whose health was already decaying, began rapidly to decline. With exhortations on his lips to his children and courtiers, that they should live in concord, he died December 26th, 1530. His remains were carried to Kábul, where a simple but beautiful tomb was erected to his memory.

§ 10. His character is a mixed one. He inherited somewhat of the ferocity of his Tatár ancestors, and was inhuman in his treatment of conquered enemies. Yet there is a simplicity and absence of affectation in his character, that excites the sympathies of all who read his *Memoirs;* which he wrote himself, and which are models of easy elegance, giving the liveliest picture of the man. His undaunted bravery, patience in adversity, perseverance, and elasticity of mind, are truly admirable. No more inflexible spirit ever wrestled with adversity and overcame it. He seems to have been addicted to the immoderate use of wine; by which he lessened his dignity, and shortened his life.

PART II. HUMAYUN'S FIRST REIGN. A. D. 1530—1540.

§ 11. Humáyún. § 12. His brothers. § 13. War with Bahádúr Sháh of Gujarát. § 14. Defeated by Sher Súr. § 15. Again defeated at Kanauj. § 16. Humáyún in Persia. § 17. Dissensions amongst the brothers.

§ 11. The second Mughul Emperor was Humáyún. He reigned nominally from A.D. 1530 to 1556; but spent nearly

sixteen years of this period (1540—1556) in exile. This emperor is famous alike for his *lenity*, and for the misfortunes in great part caused by it; for the fortitude with which he bore his adverse fortunes, and the bravery by which at length he retrieved them.

§ 12. He had three brothers, Kámrán, Hindál, and Mírzá Askarí. To the first he rashly gave up Kábul, Kandahár, the Panjáb, and the countries on the Indus. Sambhal, east of Dehli, was given to Hindál; and Mewát to the youngest. His generosity, or weakness, thus stripped him of his fairest dominions. Humáyún, in fact, had nothing but newly-conquered territory to govern, and only his father's veteran army and renown to support him.

§ 13. Bahádúr Sháh of Gujarát (1526—1537, *see* Chap. II., § 91) was his first antagonist. Gujarát had long been independent; but Bahádur Sháh was the most powerful monarch that ever governed it. Khándesh, Barár, and Ahmadnagar had acknowledged him as their feudal superior. He had conquered and annexed Málwah. Humáyún, irritated at his harbouring some fugitive rebels, attacked him, and wrested from him a great part of his dominions. He regained all in the following year. The scaling of the walls of the fort of Champánír, where the treasures of the kingdom were, by 300 men, of whom Humáyún was one, was the great exploit of this war.

§ 14. The next antagonist was Sher Khán, an Afghán of the Súr family, who now held Bihár and Bengal, which he had conquered. Humáyún made several expeditions against him, and at length laid siege to Chanár and took it. Sher Khán was himself engaged in completing the conquest of Bengal at the time. Humáyún advanced as far as Gaur. Meanwhile the rains came on; nothing could be done in Bengal; and Sher Khán issuing from his retreat in the hill fortress of Rahtás, retook the cities and forts on the Ganges, and surprised Humáyún between Patna and Benares. The emperor had only time to leap on horseback, and plunge into the stream, in which he would have been drowned, had he not been rescued by a water-carrier. He thus reached Agrah almost alone. His brothers had been plotting against him; but they now aided him to prepare for the approach of the victorious Sher Sháh.

§ 15. He sustained another decisive defeat near Kanauj, and was compelled to flee to Láhor; but Kámrán himself had retired to Kábul, and Humáyún, deprived of that shelter, fled to Sind. There he wandered for a year and a half, and at length directed his course to Marwár. Repulsed from thence, he made his way across the desert to Amarkot, where he arrived with seven companions, after enduring unspeakable hardships. Here a son, Akbar, was born. Deserted by his brothers, Humáyún pursued his flight and reached Persia, 1544. In April 1543, his faithful general, Bairám Khán, who had escaped from the battle of Kanauj, joined him. The infant Akbar was sent to Kandahár.

§ 16. The Persian Sháh Tahmásp did not treat him generously, but used every unworthy expedient to induce him to become

a Shíah as the Persians were, and to introduce that system hereafter into India.

NOTE.—The *Shíah* and *Sunní* are the two great sects into which the Muhammadans are divided.

At length, however, he gave him 14,000 horsemen to aid in restoring him to his kingdom. Thus aided he took Kandahár and Kábul. It is said that during the siege of the latter place, Kámrán exposed the young Akbar on the walls, threatening to put him to death, if Humáyún should persist in the siege. Humáyún seems to have behaved inhumanly, in slaughtering the prisoners.

§ 17. In 1548, the four brothers, Humáyún, Hindál, Kámrán, and Mírzá Askarí were reconciled; but Kámrán ever treacherous, again rebelled, and was at length defeated and blinded (1553). These dissensions weakened the cause of the house of Tímúr; but in 1555 Humáyún was in a condition to attempt to regain his Indian dominions.

PART III. THE RESTORED AFGHANS, OR SUR DYNASTY. HUMAYUN'S RETURN. A. D. 1540—1556.

§ 18. Sher Sháh. § 19. Islám Sháh. § 20. Muhammad Adil Sháh. § 21. Ibráhím Súr and Sikandar Súr. § 22. Return and death of Humáyún. § 23. His character.

§ 18. Sher Sháh is often branded as a usurper. Yet, descended from the ancient Afghán conquerors, a native of India and the expeller of the Mughuls, who had only reigned fourteen years, his claim to the throne was at least as good as Humáyún's. Nor did his method of ruling give his subjects cause to regret the revolution. He was, in his government of India, wise, benevolent, and active; though ambitious, and, in one case, certainly treacherous and cruel. This was in the atrocious massacre of the garrison of Raisín in Málwah. This was a fortress said to have been built by Ráma. It was surrendered on the express condition that the lives of its defenders should be spared. He subsequently fought a successful battle against Rájá Maldeo of Marwár, when Chitor submitted to his arms.

He was killed at the siege of Kálinjar in Bandelkhand, A. D. 1545. He is said to have made a road from Bengal to the bank of the Indus, with a Caravanserai at every stage, and wells at intervals of a mile and a half. His tomb is to be seen at Sahsarám, between the Ganges and the Son.

§ 19. The second of this restored dynasty was Islám Sháh, A.D. 1545—1552. He seems to have possessed great ability, and to have laboured for the improvement of the country.

§ 20. Islám Sháh's son was murdered by a nephew of Sher Sháh, named Muhammad Adil Sháh, who is the third of the restored dynasty. He was a despicable tyrant. His Vazír was Himú, a Hindú of low origin, but of great ability.

§ 21. Rebellions soon ensued, and the empire was divided into five portions, under rivals—members of the Afghán royal family (1555). Ibráhím Súr, Adil's cousin and brother-in-law, obtained possession of Dehli and Agrah, compelling Adil Sháh to confine himself to the eastern portions of his dominions. Hence Ibráhím is sometimes called the fourth monarch of this dynasty.

No sooner, however, had Ibráhím seated himself on the throne of Dehli, than he was driven out by another of the rivals, named Sikandar Sháh, a nephew of Sher Sháh; and in this way Sikandar is commonly called the fifth monarch of the Súr dynasty.

But it should be noticed that both Ibráhím and Sikandar were merely rebels, temporarily successful against the power of Adil Sháh.

§ 22. This was the moment when Humáyún made up his mind to invade India. He soon gained possession of Lahor, and, driving Sikandar Súr to the Himálayas, regained Agrah and Dehli. He had, however, recovered at his death but a very small portion of his dominions; for Sikandar soon re-appeared in the Pánjáb, and Himú, with the army of Adil Sháh, was in Bengal. While Prince Akbar, then thirteen years of age, was in the Panjáb with Bairám Khán, Humáyún fell from the stairs leading to the top of his palace, and was killed. He had paused on the steps, hearing the Muezzin's call to prayer, and seated himself. When trying to rise, assisted by his staff, he fell on the polished stair, and there being only a low parapet, fell headlong over. He died in a few days, six months after his return (1556).

§ 23. He was superstitious, kindly-hearted on the whole, indulgent, very dilatory in all his movements, and too incessantly occupied in warfare to be able to do anything for his adopted country

PART IV. AKBAR. A.D. 1556—1605.

§ 24. Akbar. § 25. His early life. § 26. His succession disputed. § 27. Bairám Khán. § 28. Defeat of Himú at Pánipat. § 29. Bairám, Regent. § 30. His fall. § 31. Akbar alone. § 32. Insurrections of nobles. § 33. The Rájpúts. § 34. Conquest of Gujarát. § 35. Conquest of Bihár, Bengal, and Orissa. § 36. Settlement of the Panjáb and Kábúl. § 37. Conquest of Kashmír. § 38. War against the Yúsutzais. § 39. Annexation of Sind. § 40. And of Kandahár. § 41. Extent of Akbar's dominions in Hindústán. § 42. Summary of Akbar's affairs in the Dakhin. § 43. Siege of Ahmadnagar. § 44. Chánd Bíbí. § 45. Akbar's conquest of Ahmadnagar § 46. Annexation of Khándesh. § 47. Extent of Akbar's dominions in the Dakhin. § 48. Akbar's Sons. § 49. Intrigues about the succession. § 50. Death of Akbar. § 51. Akbar's character and personal peculiarities. § 52. His religion. § 53. His social, fiscal, and military policy. § 54. His courtiers.

§ 24. The Third Mughul Emperor was Akbar (1556—1605). His real name was Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad. His surname is *Akbar*=the Great. His mother's name was Hamidá, a native of Khurásán, of obscure family.

§ 25. He was born at Amarkot, in Sind, in 1542, while Humáyún was fleeing from the ambition of Sher Sháh, and from the treachery of his brothers and his subjects. It is said that his father, unable to give the presents usual on such occasions, broke up a pod of musk and distributed it among his adherents, with the wish that "his son's fame might be diffused throughout the world like the odour of that perfume." He fell into the hands of his uncle Kámrán, December 1543; and remained at Kandahár and Kábul till 1555.

§ 26. When Humáyún died, Akbar was thirteen years and four months old. It was a very much disputed inheritance to which he succeeded. Sikandar, with the title of king of Dehli and of the Panjab, was in arms near Sarhind; and Himú was on the borders of Bengal. A young brother of Akbar, Mírzá Hakím, had been made king of Kandahár by Humáyún; but was dispossessed by Sulaimán of Badakshán, one of the same family, placed there by Bábar.

§ 27. The real ruler and the restorer of the race of Tímúr was BAIRAM KHAN. He was styled "the king's father," and had unlimited powers as regent. A Persian and a Shíah, he had been sent to aid Bábar in his earlier struggles, and had been the most faithful and able of the adherents of the house of Tímúr. An interesting story is told of the devotion to him of one of his followers named Abul Kásim, Governor of Gwáliár. Bairám was flying from Sher Sháh; and was on his way to Gujarát, when he was intercepted by one of Sher Shah's commanders. Abul Kásim was with him; and, being a man of imposing stature, was mistaken for Bairám. The latter immediately stepped forward,

and said "I am Bairám." "No," said Abul Kásim, "he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me; so let him off." Abul Kásim was then killed, and Bairám escaped to the protection of the king of Gujarát.

§ 28. Himú, after an heroic resistance, was overthrown and captured at the battle of PANIPAT, November 5th, 1556. Bairám wished Akbar to earn the title of Ghází, or champion, by slaying the Hindú. Akbar refused to strike a defenceless captive. Bairám slew the infidel. Sikandar also soon after submitted.

§ 29. Bairám's inflexibility, military talents, and energy were essential to Akbar at this period; but the *regent* (he was Akbar's *Atáliq* or guardian) occasionally exceeded his powers, and alienated the *Umarás* (or grandees) unnecessarily. Akbar himself was persuaded to assume the supreme power in his 18th year (A. D. 1560).

§ 30 Bairám, after much vacillation, broke out into rebellion; but was soon overcome, and threw himself on the mercy of Akbar, who treated him with the utmost generosity and affection. Bairám now set out to visit *Makkah* (Mecca), the Muhammadan way of retiring from public life; but was assassinated in Gujarát.

§ 30. Akbar was now emperor in reality His training had been such as to fit him for his most difficult task. Brought up among hardships, fighting at the age of 13 like a hero, by the side of Bairám Khán, to recover his father's throne; compelled by the character of Bairám to exercise in boyhood and youth the utmost prudence and self-restraint; and aware that now a single false step might lose all, he ascended the throne with sober and prudent resolves to govern well and wisely. He was, in addition to this, a perfect specimen of an accomplished Muhammadan Knight.

§ 31. The adherents of the house of Tímúr in India were few. Akbar and his chiefs were a small band of strangers in the land, far more so than William and his Normans in England after the battle of Hastings. His territory was merely the Panjáb and the district around Dehli.

§ 32. He had first to conquer his own feudatory nobles. Khán Zamán, one of Akbar's generals, Báz Bahádúr in Malwah, Adhám Khán, Abdullah Khán, and Asaf Khán, with three other generals, made war against him. The revolt of the four sons of Sultán Mírzá, governor of Sambhal, who belonged to the royal family, was not finally suppressed until the annexation of Gujarát in 1573 [*see* § 34]. Akbar was almost exclusively engaged in similar wars against his nobles until his 25th year, A. D. 1567.

§ 33. The next five years (A. D. 1567—1572) were spent in reducing the Rájpúts to submission. The chief of these were:

(1). The Rájá of Jaipur (Amber) Bihári Mall. Akbar eventually married his daughter, and Salím *(Jahângír)*, his eldest son, was married to another princess of the same family. This Rájá was the first who formed such an alliance. Rájá Bihári's son, Rájá Bhagaván Dás, Akbar's brother-in-law, was one of the

most distinguished courtiers in this reign; and was appointed Amír-ul-Umará, and Governer of the Panjáb. Bhagaván's son, Rájá Mán Singh, was one of Akbar's best generals; and, as a commander of seven thousand, was of higher rank than any Muhammadan officer. He did good service in the Panjáb and Kábul; and, as Governor of Bengal, settled the affairs of that province, and put down the Afghán rebellions [*see* § 35].

(2). The Ráná of Chítor (afterwards of Udaipur), Udai Singh, son of Ráná Sangá [*see* § 7]. Here there was an obstinate and bloody war, and Akbar was victorious. In 1580, Ráná Partáb (son of Udai Singh) regained a part of his dominions and founded Udaipur.

(3). The Ráná of Jodhpur or Marwár, was Maldeo. This prince for a time was in disgrace, but his son was a chief much favoured afterwards by the emperor. Akbar married his daughter *Jodh Bái*, and she became the mother of Jahángír, the future Emperor. It seems probable that to these intermarriages the vigour of the imperial race for so many generations was partly due. The influence they had in softening prejudices and uniting Hindús and Muhammadans, was very great. The Muhammadan historian expresses a hope about Jodh Bái, "that God will receive her in his mercy; for Jahángír's mother, though a Hindú, could hardly be sent to hell."

The Chítor family alone refused all such imperial alliances, and despised the other Rájpút families for permitting them.

§ 34. Akbár now annexed *Gujarát* to his empire. It had been independent from 1391 (Chap. II., § 91). Bahádúr Sháh [§ 13] died in 1537. The dissensions that followed his death were so great that Akbar was requested to put an end to the anarchy by taking the kingdom, which after some severe fighting he did, A. D. 1573. Ahmadábád became the residency of a viceroy, generally a prince of the blood royal. Muzaffar Sháh the king, became one of Akbar's courtiers. He rebelled afterwards and committed suicide, A. D. 1593.

§ 35. His next conquest was that of *Bihár, Bengal, and Orissa*. Munim Khán, the successor of Bairám Khán as Khán-Khánán, and Akbar's governor of Jaunpur, had extorted promises of submission from Sulaimán Kararáni, the Afghán chief of Bengal; but Daud Khán, the son of Sulaimán, had asserted his independence. Akbar himself marched against him in 1574, and took from him Hájípur and Patna; leaving Munim Khán as governor of Bihár, with orders to follow Dáúd into Bengal. Rájá Todar Mall, the celebrated finance minister [see § 56] was the life and soul of this expedition; Dáúd was reduced to submission at the battle of *Mughulmári*, near *Ísweswara* (Jellasor) in Orissa, and was allowed to retain possession of Cattack.

Shortly afterwards, Dáúd again rebelled, and overran Bengal. Khán Jahán had succeeded Munim Khán (who had died of the effects of the climate of Gaur); and he, with Todar Mall as

second in command, defeated and slew Dáúd at the battle of Ak-mahall, in A. D. 1576. Khán Jahán subsequently defeated the remnants of Dáúd's followers at Sátganw near Hugli; and gradually conquered the whole of Bengal, before his death in A. D. 1578. Muzaffar Khán succeeded Khán Jahán; and in 1580 was defeated and killed by some rebellious Jágírdárs, who overran Bengal and Bihár. The great general Azíz (or Khán-i-Azam) was sent against the rebels, and subdued them; but in the meantime, the Afgháns of Orissa had risen under Katlu Khán. Azíz retired from the government, leaving affairs unsettled; but Rájá Mán Singh [*see* § 33] who succeeded in 1589, compelled Isa (the guardian of Katlu Khán's sons) to acknowledge the Mughul supremacy. In 1592 A. D., he completely crushed the power of the Afgháns, who had again rebelled; and their last insurrection (in 1600 A. D., under Usmán Khán, son of Katlu Khán) was easily suppressed. Thus disappeared the last remains of the Afghán power in Hindústán.

§ 36. Akbar's brother Mírzá Hakím of Kábul invaded the Panjáb, A. D. 1581. Akbar repelled the invasion; and occupied Kábul which was afterwards held by Mírzá Hakím in subordination to Delhi.

Rájá Bhagaván Dás of Jaipur, Akbar's brother-in-law, was made governor of the Panjáb [*see* § 33]. The fort of Attock was then built by Akbar.

§ 37. The next conquest was that of Kashmír. The emperor went there in person and defeated the chief, who became one of the Umarás of the Dehli Court.

§ 38. This was followed by a war with various Afghán tribes, around the plain of Pesháwar; such as the Yúsufzais and a fanatical sect called the Raushánís. These, in one instance, gained a considerable victory over the imperial troops in which Rájá Bir Bar and 500 other officers of Akbar's army fell; but they were afterwards reduced to some kind of order (though they continue independent to this day) by Zain Khán.

§ 39. *Sind* was added (in 1592) to the list of Akbar's annexations. The chief, whom he subdued, became a commander of 6,000 in the Mughul army, and was appointed governor of Tatta. This was the wise policy always adopted by Akbar; and we may see its good effects in the devotion of the Rájpúts to his cause. The Portuguese aided the Sind chief; and it is said that natives dressed and drilled as Europeans fought in this war. These were *the first Sepoys in India.*

§ 40. *Kandahár* too came again under Akbar's sway, owing to dissensions among the Persians; its chief, Mírzá Muzaffar Hussain, was made a *Panjhazári*, or commander of 5000, by Akbar.

§ 41. Thus Akbar's hereditary dominions beyond the Indus, and Hindústán to the Narbaddah, were now completely under his sway. *Thirty-eight years of his reign had thus been consumed, and he was now fifty years of age.*

§ 42. He now attempted the re-conquest of the Dakhin. The chief events in the history of the Dakhin, belonging to Akbar's reign, are:—

(*a*). *The battle of Talikot*, 1565 (Chap. IV., § 18).

(*b*). Confederacy of the kings of Bíjápur and Ahmadnagar against the Portuguese A. D. 1571 (Chap. VI., § 16).

(*c*). The two sieges of Ahmadnagar, A. D. 1595, 1599. (§ 44, 45).

(*d*). The annexation of Khándesh by Akbar, in A. D. 1600.

§ 43. The dissensions in *Ahmadnagar*, between the Hindú and Abyssinian nobles so increased, that Murad (second son of Akbar) and Mírzá Khán (son of Bairám Khán,) were sent to take the divided city.

§ 44. The city of Ahmadnagar was then in the hands of the celebrated Chánd Bíbí (daughter of the Sultán Husain Nizám Sháh, widow of Alí Adil Shah of Bíjápur, and aunt of the infant Sultán, Bahádúr Nizám Sháh) one of the great heroines of the history of India and of the world. She made peace with her father-in-law the king of Bíjapur, conciliated the Abyssinian nobles, and defended the city with astonishing skill and bravery against Prince Murád, who was now pressing the siege. A breach was made in the wall, and the defenders were on the point of giving up the city, when the Sultána appeared in full armour, veiled, with a drawn sword in her hand, and standing in the breach she renewed the struggle, which ended at night-fall by the withdrawal of the Mughul armies. The dawn beheld the breach thoroughly repaired, and the regent, who had not quitted her post, ready to meet the assailants. But Murád abandoned the siege, and a peace was concluded.

§ 45. Akbar now left the Panjáb (in the vicinity of which he had been from 1584); and in 1599 arrived at Burhanpur. Daulatábád had been taken, and Prince Danyál (Akbar's third son) with Mírzá Khan was sent on again to besiege Ahmadnagar. Civil dissensions had again broken out, and the heroic Chánd Bíbí was murdered by the opponents of her little nephew. The Mughuls then soon took the city, made a great slaughter of the traitors, and took the young king prisoner. He ended his days in the usual prison, Gwaliár. The kingdom itself survived under the great Abyssinian, Malik Amber [§ 58]; and was not finally subdued till the time of Shah Jahan, A. D. 1637.

§ 46. Akbar next annexed Khandesh. Asirgarh was taken, and Prince Danyál made viceroy. Here ended Akbar's exploits in the Dakhín. He left it in A. D. 1601. Abul Fazl, the great statesman, was left in command in the Dakhín [*see* § 54].

§ 47. At the death of Akbar, his possessions in the Dakhin were Khándesh, a great part of Barár, the fort of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding districts.

§ 48. Akbar was unfortunate in his sons.

The two eldest, Hasan and Hussain, were twins; and died in infancy.

Salím (so called because he was born in the house of Shaikh Salím) who afterwards succeeded under the title of Jahángír, rebelled in 1601; but Akbar's prudence put down the rebellion, and the Prince was made viceroy of Bengal and Orissa, and a Commander of 10,000. He lived, chiefly at Allahábád, in drunkenness and debauchery. He caused Abul Fazl to be set upon and murdered, on his way back from the Dakhin.

Murád died at the age of 29.

Dányál died in 1604, of intemperance.

§ 49. Akbar's health at length began to fail. When it became clear that he could not recover, the usual intrigues regarding the succession to the throne commenced. The choice lay between Salím, the only surviving son of the Emperor, and Salím's son, Khusrau, who had been appointed nominal Governor of Orissa in 1593, when he was a mere child. Salím's drunkenness and the memory of his rebellion were obstacles to his succession. Moreover, Rájá Man Singh, brother of Khusrau's mother [*see* § 33.] and the great general Aziz, or Khán-i-Azam, his father-in-law, were in the young prince's favour.

§ 50. Akbar himself ended the strife by nominating Salím as his successor, in the presence of the Umarás, or grandees; and causing him to gird himself with his favourite scymitar. The dying emperor then addressed the Umaras, expressing his hope, that there would be no dissension between those who had for so many years been the sharers of his toils and the companions of his glory. He then asked their forgiveness for any offences he might have been guilty of against them; and repeating the Muhammadan confession of faith, died, in profession, a good Musalmán. He was buried near Agrah.

§ 51. To complete this sketch of the life and times of this, the greatest of eastern rulers, we must add some particulars—

(*a*). Of his character and personal peculiarities;
(*b*). Of his religious sentiments;
(*c*). Of his policy;
(*d*). Of his friends and companions.

(*a*). In person he was strongly built and handsome, very affable and captivating in manners, sober and abstemious, not taking animal food for a fourth of the year, spending little time in sleep, and fond of hunting and athletic sports. He rode from Ajmír to Agrah (220 miles) in two days, and often walked thirty or forty miles in a day.

He was very studious, most methodical in the despatch of business, understood Sanskrit, encouraged every kind of literature, and superintended many important literary undertakings.

He was very affectionate, both to his family and friends, humane and compassionate. When he heard of Salím's causing a man to be flayed alive, he exclaimed that he wondered that the son of a man who could not bear to see even a dead beast flayed, should be guilty of such cruelty.

§ 52. (*b*). Earlier in life he was a consistent Muhammadan; but in 1579 he openly professed latitudinarian sentiments, quite inconsistent with orthodoxy. He studied Hindú works of science and religion, and made himself acquainted with some of the tenets of the Christian religion. Regular discussions were held, in which Bráhmans, Muhammadan doctors, and even Christian priests took part.

§ 53. (*c*). Akbar's policy was dictated by good sense, benevolent feelings, comprehensive intellect, and wide experience. He desired to treat all his subjects alike, to abolish the distinction of Hindú and Muhammadan, and thus to fuse the discordant elements of his empire into one homogeneous whole.

In revenue matters he introduced great reforms, not involving new principles so much as an accurate and painstaking adjustment of the burdens of taxation, so as to make them press equally on all. He laboured to reduce the expenses of the collection of the revenue, and to prevent the extortions of government officers. These fiscal reforms originated with his great financier Rájá Todar Mall [*see* § 35]. The empire was divided into eighteen Súbahs, each under a Viceroy. The laws in regard to punishments issued to these *Súbahdars* were humane, forbidding mutilation in any case.

To introduce *submission*, *economy*, and *efficiency* into such an army as his, was a hard task. The soldiers were to be paid in cash, not by assignments of land. There were not more than 450 officers, each commanding above 200 men, in all his vast armies. Thirty officers held each the command of 5,000, and were called *Panjhazáris*. Much corruption seems to have existed in this department to the last.

§ 54. (*d*). First among Akbar's friends may be mentioned Abul Fazl. This eminent man, and the next in our list, *Feizi*, were sons of a learned man, who taught divinity in Agrah. He and his brother were Akbar's most intimate friends and counsellors. Abul Fazl rose to the highest military commands, and was prime minister. He died in the forty-seventh year of the reign 1603. He was the author of the celebrated *Áín-i-Akbarí* (or *Institutes* of Akbar); which contains a minute account of every department of government, and everything connected with the emperor's establishments, public and private. He was killed by Salím. Feizi, the elder brother of Abul Fazl, like his brother, a most intimate friend of the emperor, was employed on an embassy to the Dakhin. He was the first Muhammadan that studied Hindú literature, from which he translated many works. He was moreover a poet; and more studious, but less a man of the world, than his brother. In addition to these, the three great men who successively held the title Khán-Khánán (Bairám Khan, Munim Khán, and Mírzá Abdurrahím, the son of Bairám Khán), the celebrated generals Aziz or Khán-i-Azam and Khán Jahán, and the famous Hindú Rájás Bihári Mall, Bhagaván Dás, Mán Singh, and Todar Mall:—all these adorned a Court which was one of the most brilliant in the world.

PART V. JAHANGIR. A. D. 1605—1627.

§ 55. Summary of the history of the reign. § 56. His first measures. § 57. His sons. § 58. Malik Ambar. § 59. Shán Jahán's Campaigns in Maiwár and the Dakhin. § 60. Núr Jahán's early life. § 61. She becomes empress. § 62. Sir Thomas Roe. § 63. Sháh Jahán's second campaign in the Dakhin. § 64. Sháh Jahán's rebellion. § 65. Mahábat Khán. § 66. The Emperor a prisoner. § 67. Death of the Emperor. § 68. His character.

§ 55. The fourth Mughul Emperor was Salím. On his accession he took the title of Jahángír (= *the world's conqueror*). We shall have to notice in his history:—

(*a*). His youthful intemperance and violent temper;
(*b*). His rebellion against his father;
(*c*). His murder of Abul Fazl, 1602;
(*d*). His divergence from his father in religious matters;
(*e*). His treatment of his son Khusrau, 1605;
(*f*). His Queen, Núr Jahán (= *light of the world*) 1611;
(*g*). Sir T. Roe's embassy, 1615;
(*h*). The history of Mahábat Khán, his great general;
(*j*). Affairs in the Dakhin, chiefly connected with the great Malik Ambar.

§ 56. Jahángír was, on the whole, judicious in his first measures. He adopted and even developed his father's measures of reform. He took great pains to give all men opportunities of approaching him. A chain was hung from a part of the wall of the citadel, to which all had access. This chain was connected with a bell in the emperor's private room. Thus every suitor could make himself heard.

He was more rigid in his attention to observances of the Muhammadan faith, than his father. Himself a drunkard during his whole life, he punished all who used wine.

§ 57. Jahángír was as unfortunate in regard to his sons at Akbar had been. His eldest son, Khusrau, had long been as enmity with him. The mother of this prince was a Rájpút princess daughter of Rájá Bhagaván Dás [*see* § 33]. On his father's accession, Khusrau thought himself not safe, and fled to the Panjáb where a large army gathered around him. Jahángír's army was, however, victorious; and Khusrau was seized on the bank of the Jhelam, as he was trying to make his way to Kábul. And now Jahángír made a display of that cruelty which marked his character, and to which Akbar had ever been so averse. He caused 700 of Khusrau's adherents to be impaled in a line leading from the gate of Lahor. The miserable prince was conducted along the line to "receive the homage of his servants." He was deeply affected by the spectacle. He was kept a prisoner, though not in very close custody, till his death in 1621.

Jahángír's second son was the Prince Parwíz. From 1623 to the death of the emperor, we shall find his third son

Khurram, or Sháh Jahán, in rebellion, had been Akbar's favourite.

§ 58. The interest of the affairs of the Dakhin is connected with MALIK AMBAR. Ahmadnagar was taken in 1599 [§ 45]; but Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian noble of splendid abilities, founded a new capital, which was called *Kahrki* (a name afterwards changed by Aurangzeb to Aurangábád), where he maintained the government of the young king. He introduced Rájá Todar Mall's revenue system into the Dakhin, and held his ground against the Mughuls till his death in 1626. With his death vanished all hope of a better order of things in the Dakhin. The nominal king was Murtazá Nizám Sháh.

§ 59. Mírzá Abdurrahím [*see* § 54], and Prince Parwáz, the second son of the emperor, were joined in the command of an army to conquer the Dakhin in 1608; but they were unsuccessful, and the Mírzá was superseded in 1610 by Khán Jahán. He was, however, again sent to the Dakhin; and at last Prince Khufram (who for his success here was given the title of Sháh Jahán) was sent to help him in A. D. 1616. Sháh Jahán had already acquired great renown in a war against the Ráná of Udaipur; whom he had reduced to complete submission (in 1614), and afterwards gained as a friend by his generous treatment. Jahángír himself now fixed his residence at Mándú in Málwah, in order to be nearer the scene of war; while Sháh Jahán selected Burhámpur as head-quarter. Adil Sháh and Kutb-ul-mulk [*see* Chap. IV., § 12,14] sent tribute, and submitted; and Malik Ambar handed over the keys of Ahmadnagar and other forts, ceding also the Parganahs of Bálághát, which he had conquered.

§ 60. In 1611 the great event of the emperor's life, his marriage with the celebrated Mihrunnisá Khánum, the widow of Sher Afkan, took place. She was called after her marriage, Núr Mahall *(the light of the palace)*; and subsequently obtained the name by which she is most commonly known, Núr Jahán *(the light of the world)*. She was of a noble Persian family, which had been reduced to poverty; in consequence of which, her father emigrated to India. On the way, at Kandahár, Núr Jahán was born. To such poverty were they reduced, that the infant, the mighty empress of world-wide renown, was exposed on the high road, where a merchant saw the child, and compassionately took it for his own. The child's own mother was employed by him as its nurse; and even in her infancy Núr Jahán made the fortune of her family, for to the kind assistance of the merchant they owed their advancement. Jahángír (then Prince Salím) had seen and loved her, when as a girl she accompanied her mother, who had free access to Akbar's harem. To remove her from the Prince's sight, she was, by Akbar's advice, married to Sher Afkan, a young Persian, who was made governor of Bardwán.

§ 61. But when Jahángír became emperor, he suggested to Kutb-ud-dín, Viceroy of Bengal, that he should induce Núr

Jahán's husband to divorce her. Her husband refused; and in the quarrel that ensued, both the Viceroy and Sher Afkan were killed. Núr Jahán was sent to Dehli; but she, looking upon the emperor as the murderer of her husband, rejected his overtures with disdain. After a length of time, however, a reconciliation took place, and Núr Jahán became empress of India. Her name was put on the coinage with the emperor's. Her influence was unbounded. Her father, and her brother, Asaf Khán, were wise ministers; and though Jahángír still indulged in nightly drunken debauches, the affairs of the kingdom were henceforth managed with prudence and humanity.

62. Sir T. Roe came as an ambassador from James I., in 1615 to 1618. He passed from Súrat, through Burhánpur and Chítor to Ajmír, where he met the emperor on his way to Gujarát. He found the cities of the Dakhin much neglected, and the country generally less prosperous than it had been in Akbar's time. The splendour of the court astonished him. He describes Jahángír's nightly drunken orgies. He mentions having to bribe Asaf Khán with a pearl of value; and that two of Jahángír's nephews had embraced Christianity.

§ 63. In 1620 A. D., Malik Ambar broke the treaty [*see* § 59], drove back the emperor's generals, and besieged the Súbahdár (the Khán-Khánán) in Burhánpur. Sháh Jahán was again sent into the Dakhin, where he succeeded in raising the siege of Burhánpur. Shortly afterwards he was glad to admit Malik Ambar to favourable terms, as his attention was now required elsewhere.

§ 64. Intrigues, to ensure the succession to Prince Shahryár the emperor's youngest son (married to Núr Jahán's daughter by her first husband), disturbed the peace of the empire, and led to Sháh Jahán's rebellion in 1621. Prince Parwíz and the renowned general Mahábat Khán were sent against the rebel, and drove him from the Dakhin, whence he made his way to Bengal, where he for a time established himself; but soon after submitted to his father.

§ 65. Fresh troubles, however arose, from Núr Jahán's jealousy of Mahábat Khán, the most eminent man in the empire. His family had come from Afghánistán, and he had fought under Akbar, and now had been raised to the highest position by Jahángír. He was a friend and partizan of Prince Parwíz, while Núr Jahán designed Prince Shahryár to succeed.

§ 66. Mahábat was sent for to court, but finding his disgrace resolved upon, planned and executed a stroke of unexampled audacity. He took the emperor prisoner on the banks of the Jhelam. Núr Jahán strove in vain to liberate her husband, and at length resolved to share his captivity. She narrowly escaped being put to death by the victor. Mahábat was now supreme, and retained his power for nearly a year. Núr Jahán at length succeeded in effecting the escape of the emperor, and Mahábat was compelled to fly to the south, where he joined Sháh Jahán.

§ 67. The eventful years, A. D. 1626 and 1627, were fatal to several of the great personages whose history is of importance: Prince Parwíz died at Burhánpur; Azíz, another of Akbar's great generals mentioned already, and Malik Ambar, about the same time; Mírzá Abdurrahím Khán (the great son of Bairám Khán) somewhat later. At length the Emperor too died, on his way from Kashmír to Láhor, in his sixtieth year

§ 68. Jahángír, notwithstanding his intemperance and violence, was remarkable for his sincere love of justice, and his endeavours, by himself hearing all cases referred to him, to remedy all the evils which existed in the State. His maxim is said to have been: "That a monarch should care even for the beasts of the field, and that the very birds of the heaven ought to receive their due at the foot of the throne." Like his contemporary, James I., he was an opponent of *tobacco*, then being introduced into both east and west. Royal edicts and treatises have failed to arrest its wonderful spread through the world.

PART VI. SHAH JAHAN. A. D. 1626—1658.

§ 69. Murders his rivals. § 70. The Great Men of the Age. § 71. Rebellion of Khán Jahán Lodí. § 72. Final subjugation of Ahmadnagar. § 73. Destruction of Portuguese power in Bengal. § 74. Submission of Kandahár. § 75. Sa'dullah Khán. 76. Aurangzeb's campaign in the Dakhin. § 77. Sháh Jahán's family. § 78. Intrigues for the succession. § 79. Dárá defeats Shujá. § 80. Defeat of Dárá, and imprisonment of Sháh Jahán, by Aurangzeb. § 81. Character of Sháh Jahán's reign. § 82. His Wealth. § 83. His Character.

§ 69. Sháh Jahán, on the death of his father, hastened from the Dakhin to Agrah. Shahryár and two of his cousins who opposed him, were defeated and put to death either by his orders, or by those of Asaf Khán. In fact, none of the race of Bábar were left alive, but the emperor's own children. Núr Jahán at once retired into absolute obscurity, having a magnificent jointure. She died in A. D. 1646.

§ 70. The two great men of this period were Núr Jahán's brothers, *Asaf Khán*, and *Mahábat Khan*; who were highly rewarded by the new emperor for their fidelity to his cause. Khán Jahán Lodí was viceroy of the Dakhin.

In the Dakhin kingdom of Ahmadnagar, Malik Ambar's son, Fáth Khán, was soon set aside by Murtazá Nizám Sháh, who now ruled for himself, but brought his kingdom to the verge of ruin. This destroyed the last hope of a successful resistance to the Mughul arms.

§ 71. The rebellion of Khán Jahán Lodí was the first important event (1628-1630). At first he seemed to aim at indepen-

dence; but soon submitted, and was removed from the viceroyalty of the Dákhin to Málwah, Mahábat Khán succeeding him. Subsequently, Khán Jahán, suspecting that the emperor distrusted him, raised the standard of revolt in Agrah itself. He was encountered and defeated on the banks of the Chambal, but escaped; and allying himself with the king of Ahmadnagar, Murtazá Nizám Sháh, transferred the war to the Dakhin. Muhammad Adil Sháh, of Bíjápur, refused to aid him. Abdullah Kutb Sháh, of Golkondah, also held aloof. Khán Jahán was finally defeated and slain in Bandelkhand, near Kálinjar.

§ 72. Shah Jahán's general still carried on the war, to punish Murtazá Nizám Sháh, who was put to death by Fath Khán. The Dakhin was now a prey to the three-fold evils of war, pestilence, and famine. In 1634, Mahábat Khán was recalled to court, and the Mughuls made no progress in the Dakhin; until Sháji, father of Sivaji [Chap. V., §. 4], set up a new pretender to the throne of Ahmadnagar, and took possession of the territory around. Sultán Shujá was viceroy of the Dakhin, and was recalled with the general. Sháh Jahán now took the field himself, brought both Bíjápur and Golkondah to terms, and subdued Sháji, who entered the service of Bíjápur. Thus Ahmadnagar was extinguished in 1637. [Chap. IV., § 13].

§ 73. An episode connected with Portuguese affairs in Bengal must here find place. The Portuguese had established a settlement near the ancient fort of Sátganw. This was called *Golin*, or Hugli. At Chittagong, too, they had a flourishing factory, defended by 1,000 Europeans, two thousand natives, and eighty ships. To the Mughul Governor of Dacca they were objects of great suspicion. He complained to Sháh Jahán that they had mounted cannon on their fort, and had grown insolent and oppressive. "Let the idolators be expelled" was the emperor's command, and it was obeyed after terrible slaughter. Thus was the power of Portuguese in Bengal for ever destroyed, 1631. The English were rising.

§ 74. Alí Mardán Khán, governor of Kandahár, at this time gave up that province to Sháh Jahán, from disgust at the tyranny of his master, the King of Persia. He became a trusted general of the emperor, and especially rendered himself useful as an architect. A canal at Dehli attests his skill, and bears his name. It was repaired and fully restored by Lord Hastings in 1822.

Kandahár was soon retaken by the Persians; and though besieged by the emperor's sons, Aurangzeb and Dárá, was never retaken.

§ 75. A.D. 1653—1655 saw the completion of the great revenue settlement of the Dakhin, and the death of Sa'dullah, the most able and upright minister that has ever appeared in India.

§ 76. In 1652, Sháh Jahán sent Aurangzeb as viceroy into the Dakhin, and that prince seemed determined to recompense himself for failure beyond the Indus by subjugating Bíjápur and Golkondah. The immediate cause of his attack on the latter

kingdom was an appeal from Mír Jamlah, prime minister of that kingdom, formerly a diamond merchant, who had some disagreement with his master Abdullah Kutb Sháh. Under the pretext of sending his son Sultán Muhammad to Bengal, to espouse the daughter of Prince Shujá, he marched on Haidarábád, took it, and invested the hill fort of Golkondah, compelling the king to pay tribute and marry his daughter to Sultán Muhammad. Mír Jamlah became one of Aurangzeb's favourite generals. He was proceeding to humble Bíjápur in the same way, when news reached him of Sháh Jahán's sudden and dangerous illness. Aurangzeb had determined, at all hazards, to be his father's successor.

§ 77. Sháh Jahán had four sons and two daughters.

Dárá Shikoh was in his forty-second year, frank, generous, a free-thinker (and thus obnoxious to the Muhammadans, who beheld in him another Akbar), imprudent and daring. Shujá was forty years old, an effeminate sensualist. Aurangzeb was thirty-eight years old, a master of dissimulation, an accomplished soldier, of handsome person, in religion a bigot, and above all, intensely ambitious. Murád, the youngest, was brave and generous; but dull in intellect, self-willed, and an abandoned sensualist. The eldest daughter was Pádsháh Begam, the favourite, and great supporter of Dárá. The younger daughter, Roshanrái, was an active and intriguing partisan of Aurangzeb.

§ 78. On the news of their father's illness in 1657 reaching them, in spite of Dárá's efforts to conceal it, both Prince Shujá, then viceroy of Bengal, and Prince Murád, viceroy of Gujarát, assumed the royal title, and prepared to march on the capital. Aurangzeb more cautiously advanced to the northern boundary of his province, secured Mír Jamlah, the general, and entered into a negotiation with Murád. He represented to that weak prince that he himself was only desirous of going to Mecca, that he would unite with Murád to oppose the infidel Dárá and his idolatrous general Jeswant Singh, and then would seek a reconciliation with his father.

§ 79. Dárá now met and defeated Shujá near Benáres, and the discomfited prince returned to Bengal.

§ 80. Aurangzeb joined Murád in Málwah, and a battle between their combined forces and those of Jeswant Singh was fought near Ujjain, in which the princes were victorious. Aurangzeb still treated Murád as his superior. Dárá now advanced one day's march from Agrah to meet Aurangzeb, and a severe engagement took place. Dárá's elephant was struck with a rocket, and became ungovernable. This compelled him to alight. The sight of his elephant with empty howdah spread a panic through his army. The battle and the cause were lost by this trifling circumstance. Dárá fled to Dehli. Aurangzeb rendered devout thanks to heaven for his victory, and congratulated Murád on his acquisition of a kingdom! Three days after he entered Agrah, and finding it impossible to shake the old emperor's

attachment to Dárá, sent his son Sultán Muhammad to make his aged grandfather prisoner in the citadel. Thus ended Sháh Jahán's reign, in 1658; though he lived till December, 1666.

§ 81. This reign was the most prosperous in the annals of the empire, which enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity. Dehli was rising in all its splendour. Those buildings at New Dehli and Agrah, which are still the admiration of the world, were erected under his superintendence. The splendour of his court, his peacock throne worth six-and-a-half millions sterling, and the grandeur of his buildings, mark him out as the most magnificent of Indian emperors. Dehli is called by Muhammadans, Sháh-Jahán-ábád. The Táj Mahál at Agrah, the mausoleum of Mumtáz Mahál, Shah Jahán's queen, built of white marble, decorated with mosaics of many-coloured precious stones, is in solemn grandeur unsurpassed by any building in the world.

§ 82. Sháh Jahán left twenty-four millions sterling in coin, besides vast stores of wrought gold, silver, and jewels.

§ 83. His youth had been spent in rebellions and intrigues; but as a ruler he was beneficent and generous.

PART VII. AURANGZEB. A. D. 1658—1707.

§ 84. Summary of the events of Aurangzeb's reign. § 85. He exterminates his rivals. 86. Death of Mír Jamlah. § 87. Intrigues. § 88. Sivaji. § 89. Death of Sháh Jahán. § 90. Insurrections of fanatics. § 91. Discontent amongst the Hindús. § 92. Rájpút rebellion. § 93. Rebellion of Prince Akbar. § 94. Peace with Marwár. § 95. Wars in the Dakhin. § 96. The Mughul Armies and Leaders. § 97 Capture of Bíjápur. § 98. Capture of Golkondah. § 99. Sambaji. § 100. Wars against the Mahrattas. § 101. The Mahrattas recover themselves. § 102. Aurangzeb's death. § 103. His character. § 104. Review of the state of India at this period.

§ 84. The sixth Mughul emperor was Aurangzeb. His title was Alamgír (the *conqueror of the universe*); and he is frequently called Alamgír I. The chief points to be noticed in his reign are:—(1) the shameful duplicity and unnatural cruelty by which he obtained the throne; (2) his intolerant policy, which made him hated by the Hindús; (3) his constant contests with the Mahrattas, especially Sivaji. He killed Sambaji and imprisoned Sáhu (Chap. V., § 20); (4) his subjugation of the Dakhin kingdoms (Chap. IV., § 14); (5) the English had a firm footing in India before his death (*see* Chap. VII., § 10—14).

§ 85. After gaining possession of Agrah and imprisoning his father, Aurangzeb was proclaimed emperor, though he was not crowned for a year afterwards. He had still to pursue Dárá, and to meet Shujá who was advancing from Bengal. The former

fled to Multán and from thence to one after another of the Rájpút chiefs. He was at length betrayed by the chief of Jun, taken to Dehli, where he was paraded through the streets, and at length put to death as an apostate from Muhammadanism. Aurangzeb affected to weep over his brother's head! Shujá was soon overthrown by Mír Jamlah. Meanwhile Aurangzeb's son, Muhammad Sultán, deserted to Shujá, married his daughter, and then again joined Mír Jamlah. He was kept in prison for seven years in Gwáliár, by his father. Shujá and all his family perished in Arakán, whither he had fled. Sulaimán, son of Dárá, was also taken and consigned with all the other members of the family to Gwáliár, where he soon died. Murád, on some frivolous excuse, was put to death, A. D. 1661. Thus by a series of murders, Aurangzeb had now made his throne secure.

§ 86. Mír Jamlah, after subduing Assám, died near Dacca, while planning the conquest of China. Thus was the emperor relieved of the presence of a minister and general whose abilities and renown excited his jealous fears.

§ 87. Aurangzeb had now a violent illness, which shook the foundations of his power. Jeswant Singh, the powerful Rájpút chief of Jodhpur, whose dominions extended from Gujarát to Ajmír, and Mahábat Khán (son of the great general) from Kábul, combined to effect the release of Shah Jahán. Intrigues were also made by various parties to place his sons Muazzam, and Akbar or Azam, on the throne. By energy and promptitude he defeated all these projects.

§ 88. It was now that Sivaji came to an open rupture with the emperor (Comp. Chap., V., § 9). Sháísta Khán, son of Núr Jahán's brother Asaf Khan, was then Viceroy of the Dakhin, and resided at Aurangábád. The expeditions of the emperor's generals into the Dakhin, Sivaji's visit to Dehli, his escape, his treaty with Aurangzeb, and his career till his death in 1680, are given in Chap. V., § 9—17.

§ 89. Sháh Jahán died in prison in A. D. 1666. About this time Little Thibet and Chittagong were added to the emperor's dominions.

§ 90. Disturbances in Afghánistán followed, which do not concern Indian history. In 1676 the Sátnarámis near Nárnol rebelled. These fanatics imagined themselves invincible, and Aurangzeb with his own hand wrote texts from the Koran to be fastened on the standards of his troops to dissolve the spells of the rebels. They were defeated and dispersed; but this led to the imposition of the *Jiziah*, a poll-tax on all infidels. *This impolitic proceeding shook the very foundations of the Mughul dominion.*

§ 91. Discontent now spread throughout every class of Hindús. The system of Akbar had been formally abandoned. A letter, ascribed to Jeswant Singh, is still extant, in which the writer expostulates with the emperor on his intolerance. He commends the former princes of the house of Tímúr for their

liberality, declares that the empire is going to ruin, and that every species of misgovernment and oppression is rife throughout the land. Jeswant Singh died in 1677.

§ 92. Aurangzeb's arbitrary conduct towards the widow and children of Rájá Jeswant Singh, kindled the enmity of the Rájpúts into a flame. Durgá Dás, Rám Singh of Jaipur, Ráj Singh of Majwár, and others, combined to protect the children of Jeswant Singh and to resist the payment of the hated and iniquitous Jiziah. The emperor exerted himself with his usual energy. His sons, Muazzam from the Dakhin (afterwards Sháh Alam I.), Azam from Bengal, and Akbar, were sent into the Rájpút country, where, by the emperor's orders, all the horrors of the most ruthless war of extermination were visited upon the unhappy people. This cruel policy, successful for the time, for ever alienated the high-spirited Rájpúts.

§ 93. Durgá Dás adopted a policy the most calculated to wound the emperor. He induced Akbar, his favourite son, then 23 years of age, to rebel, promising him the assistance of the Rájpút chiefs. Akbar had soon 70,000 men under his command. But the emperor was again successful; and Akbar, his army having been wiled or terrified into desertion, fled to the Concan, where he became a fugitive among the Mahrattas, and where Sambaji received him. Disgusted with Sambaji's manners, he soon retired to Persia, where he died in A. D. 1706. (Chap. V., § 19).

§ 94. In 1681, Aurangzeb made peace with the Eastern Rájpúts. It was stipulated that Ajít Singh, son of Jeswant Singh, should be restored to his father's dominion of Marwár when he came of age. There was however, and could be, no real peace.

§ 95. The wars of Aurangzeb in the Dakhin are the most important. He was weakening and ruining the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Dakhin and the ancient sovereignties of India, when he should have aided them and strengthened them in their contest with the common enemy, the plundering Mahrattas. His general Khán Jahán effected nothing against the latter. Dilír Kháu, who succeeded him, invaded Golkondah and Bíjápur without any decisive results. (He died in 1684, neglected by the emperor). Aurangzeb arrived at Burhánpur in 1683, and spent two years there and at Aurangábád before advancing to Ahmadnagar. The magnificence of his progress surpasses anything recorded in history. A million of persons were assembled together in his camp.

§ 96. In this expedition several armies were kept continually in motion, under Prince Muazzam, Prince Azam, Prince Kámbeksh, Khán Jahán, and the emperor himself. The great Mughul warriors around him were Dilír Khán, Dáúd Khán Panni, Gházi-ud-dín (father of the great Nizám-ul-mulk), Tokarrab Khan, Assad Khán, and his more celebrated son, Zulfikár Khán, and a multitude of others. But in warlike character the Mughul nobles had deteriorated. Arrayed in wadded garments, covered with plate armour, and surrounded by everything that was gay and

splendid, they seemed better adapted for the splendours of a tournament, than for actual war against the hardy Mahrattas.

§ 97. Bijápur was taken, and its monarchy finally destroyed, in A. D. 1686. The chief agent in the capture was Gházi-ud-dín, father of Nizám-ul-mulk; though the emperor himself was present (Chap. IV., § 12).

§ 98. Golkondah fell in the following year. But of his new conquests the emperor never had more than mere military possession. We find Kadapa, Conjeveram, and Púndamalli occupied by the imperial troops in the same year (Chap. IV., § 12).

§ 99. The capture and death of Sambaji, and the captivity of Sáhu belong to Mahratta history. (Chap. V., § 19). The emperor's camp for some years after this was at Brimhapúrí, on the Bhíma.

§ 100. The aged emperor was *apparently successful.* He took Sátára in April, 1700, and in the following months nearly all the Mahratta strongholds were seized. But the empire was tottering on the verge of ruin. Aurangzeb himself was 81 years of age. These sieges involved an immense waste of treasure and life. Every obstacle existed, arising from floods, pestilence, heat, and the nature of the country. The peculiarity of the situation was this: the emperor himself did everything. His vigour alone kept things in order. The minutest detail of war or government was attended to by himself. Jealous of his sons, who might remember too well his conduct to Sháh Jahán, he neither trusted them, nor employed them when he could help it. This distrust of all about him, the offspring of guilt, was the torment of the emperor, and one of the causes of ruin of the Mughul empire. As an evidence of it, we find Muazzam falling under unjust suspicion, imprisoned for six years (1687—1694) and then sent as governor to Kábul.

§ 101. The Mahrattas, with an elasticity that ever marked them, began to recover themselves, soon retook some of their forts, and so harassed the emperor, that he withdrew to Ahmadnagar, which he re-entered in 1706. He had been twenty years engaged in these fruitless, harassing wars. The waves of Mahrattas swept over his track as soon as he retreated. He had made no real impression upon them. They had learned to conquer and despise their Mughul foes.

§ 102. Aurangzeb entered Ahmadnagar but to die. His death was a melancholy one. Troubled with remorse, harassed by anxieties, conscious that after his death all he had tried to effect would be rendered vain by the contests of his sons for the throne, and by the universal decay which he could not but perceive in every part of the State, he gave utterance in his last moments to the most affecting expressions of despairing sadness. "Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity. I have committed many crimes. I know not with what punishments I may be visited." Such were some of his latest words. He died February 21, 1707, in the 89th year of his age.

§ 103. Aurangzeb was austere, a devotee, just, laborious. Yet he was unsuccessful. He did not maintain discipline, seeming afraid to alienate by punishing. Mistrustful of all around him, cold-hearted, and in all his dealings with Hindús partial and prejudiced, he was the very reverse of Akbar. We find him even in 1683, at Burhánpur, levying the jizíah from all Hindús under his sway in the Dakhin as well as in Hindústan. If Akbar was the real founder, Aurangzeb was the destroyer of the Mughul dominion in India. With Aurangzeb, it has been said, the empire of the Mughuls passed away.

§ 104. At this critical period in the history of India, the thoughtful student will pause and survey the stage from which so distinguished an actor now disappears.

(1). Of the Mughuls themselves the next section will tell us all that is necessary.

(2). In the Dakhin the Mahrattas apparently humbled, are in reality placed, by the destruction of the Dakhin kingdoms, in the most favourable position for founding a permanent dominion. The Peshwás are coming (*see* Chap. V.)

(3). The English merchants have now factories on every part of the coast (*see* Chap. VII.); and the three Presidency towns and forts of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, are under a regular government, promising stability and development.

(4). The French too are flourishing. The rivalries have not begun (*see* Chap. VII.)

PART VIII. BAHADUR SHAH, OR SHAH ALAM I.
A. D. 1707—1712.

§ 105. Civil wars between the sons of Aurangzeb. § 106. Accession of Bahádúr Sháh. § 107. The great Umarás of this reign. § 108. The leaders of the Mahrattas, Rájpúts, and Sikhs. § 109. Death of the Emperor.

§ 105. On the death of Aurangzeb there was the usual contest between the sons of the deceased emperor. These were three, Muazzam, Azam, and Kámbaksh. The deceased emperor had willed that the eldest should be emperor, taking Dehli for his capital, and governing the north and east. Azam was to share the dominion, having Agrah as his capital, and governing the south and south-west. To Kámbaksh were assigned the kingdoms of Golkondah and Bíjápur.

Muazzam and Azam simultaneously claimed the crown. A bloody battle was fought south of Agrah, in which Azam and his sons were slain. Kámbaksh refusing to acknowledge Muázzam, a battle was fought near Haidarábád, where he too was defeated and killed.

§ 106. Muazzam assumed the title of Bahádúr Sháh, but is often called Sháh Alam I. He was the seventh Mughul Emperor.

§ 107. His great Umarás were:—

(1). Assad Khán, a distinguished general in Aurangzeb's Dakhin wars. He died in 1716.

(2). Zulfikár Khán, the son of Assad, Viceroy of the Dakhin. [*see* § 114, and Chap. V., § 21].

(3). Munim Khán the Vazír.

Dáúd Khán Panní was Aurangzeb's Pathán or Afghán officer, acting for Zulfikár Khán in the Dakhin [*see* § 96].

§ 108. We may have notice also the rise of important leaders among the following:—

(1). *The Mahrattas.*

Their power was now rapidly increasing. Sáhu was released by Prince Azam. There was civil war among the Mahrattas. The Mughul Government supported Sahu, and allowed him the *chauth* or fourth of the revenue [*see* Chap. V., § 22].

(2). *The Rájputs* [*see* § 94].

There were three great Rájpút princes at that time: *(a)*, the Ráná of Udaipur; *(b)*, the Rájá of Marwár or Jodhpur, Ajít Singh [§ 94], son of Jeswant Singh [§ 91]; *(c)*, the Rájá of Jaipur, Jai Singh II., a great mathematician and astronomer.

These Rájpúts obtained from Bahádúr Sháh an acknowledgment of virtual independence.

(3). *The Síkhs.*

Those were the disciples of *Nának* who flourished in the time of Bábar. He taught a comprehensive and tolerant monotheism, and sought to comprehend Hindús and Muhammadans in one. The leading notions of Sufiism, a mystic form of Muhammadanism, and the Hindú Vedánta, are blended in his system. Persecution changed an inoffensive sect into a military commonwealth.

Guru Govind, their tenth Guru or spiritual chief, in 1675 completed their organization. He was slain by a private enemy; but his relatives and followers were visited with every species of cruelty. Banda was now their leader. Their hatred to the Musalmáns, inflamed by long persecutions, broke out into the most fearful atrocities. Bahádúr Sháh in person went against them, drove them into the hills; but failed in capturing Banda, and the check to the Síkhs was merely temporary. [Comp. § 120 and Chap. XI]. In this struggle the emperor spent his last five years.

§ 109. This emperor died February, 1712.

PART IX. JAHANDAR SHAH. A. D. 1712—1713.

§ 110. Accession of Jahándár. § 111. Aided by Zulfikár Khán. § 112. The Sayyids. § 113. The battle of Agrah, and death of Jahándár. § 114. Life of Zulfikár Khán.

§ 110. Though the weakest of the four brothers, Mírzá Muizz-ud-dín, through the influence of Zulfikár Khán, overcame

his rivals; and with the usual slaughter of kindred, ascended the throne, under the title of Jahándár Sháh.

§ 111. Zulfikár's motive for aiding him was the belief that the weakness and incapacity of the emperor would throw all power into his hands. His arrogance disgusted the Umarás even more than the low debauchery of his master.

§ 112. Farrukh Siyar, the second son of Azím who was the second son of Bahádúr Sháh, escaped the slaughter, and solicited the aid of two valiant, able, and powerful noblemen, now to be very prominent in this history. Their names were Sayyid Husain Alí, governor of Bihár, and his brother Sayyid Abdullah, governor of Alahábád.

§ 113. These Sayyids, the king-makers of India, espoused his cause warmly, and in a battle near Agrah defeated Zulfikár and his puppet emperor, Jahándár, February 1713. The former was strangled; and the latter was also put to death.

§ 114. This is the place for some continuous account of the celebrated rival "king-maker," Zulfikár Khán. His father was Assad Khán, head of one of the oldest noble families in the empire. Zulfikár distinguished himself under Aurangzeb in the war with the Mahrattas, A. D. 1690 (§ 96); in the course of which, disgusted at being nominally under the prince Kámbaksh, he held traitorous intercourse with the Mahrattas, but at length took Ginjí. His and his father's influence gave Bahádúr Sháh the throne, and by that emperor he was made Viceroy of the Dakhin. His advice led to the release of Sáhu. He raised Jahándár Sháh to the throne, and was his vazír; and he fell a victim to his own treachery. For, having surrendered his master to the Sayyids, he was by their order strangled.

PART X. FARRUKH SIYAR. A. D. 1713—1719.

§ 115. Accession of Farrukh Siyar. § 116. The Bárha Sayyids. § 117. The rivals of the Sayyids. § 118. Marriage of Farrukh Siyar. § 119. Surgeon Hamilton. § 120. Persecution of the Síkhs. § 121. War with the Mahrattas. § 122. Assassination of the emperor.

§ 115. Farrukh Siyar succeeded as Ninth Mughul Emperor. The personal history of the emperor is now of much less importance than that of the powerful Umarás who exercised the sovereignty in his name, and their four rivals.

§ 116. The Bárha Sayyids (for an explanation of the term Sayyid, *see* Introduction, §. 18) were a powerful tribe in the district of Muzaffarnagar (province of Dehli), where they had been long settled, and where their descendants are at the present day an important element in the population. The brothers *Husain Alí* and *Abdullah Khán* were men of much courage and ability. They had been promoted by Azím the emperor's father, when he was

viceroy of Bengal. The former was now made Vazír, and the latter, Commander-in-Chief.

§ 117. The rivals of the Sayyids were:—(1) Nizám-ul-mulk, Ásaf-Jáh, who at that time was a veteran warrior, a man of consummate cunning, and a prominent person from this period till his death in A.D. 1748. His descendants are the Nizáms of Haidarábád.

(2) Sa'ádat Khán, originally a merchant from the Persian province of Khurásán (and hence called "the Persian Pedlar") was the co-adjutor and rival of the Nizám-ul-mulk, held a high military command, and founded the modern kingdom of Oudh. His descendants are the present ex-princes of Oudh.

(3) Of less importance is Mír Jamlah, a personal favourite of the emperor, who plotted unsuccessfully against the Sayyids, was for a time Governor of Bihár, and finally was dismissed to his native town of Multán. He must not be confounded with others bearing this title.

(4) A warrior of renown was Dáúd Khán, who acted for a time as Viceroy of the Dakhin, but was now removed to Khándesh and Gujarát. He fell in a desperate attempt to overthrow the power of Husain Alí.

The two latter failed in their attempts against the Sayyids; the two former, in due time, as we shall see, succeeded.

§ 118. Farrukh Siyar married a Rájpút princess, daughter of Ajít Singh, the Rájá of Marwár. This marriage was the condition of a peace with the Rájpúts.

§ 119. A matter of importance in the history of British India is connected with this marriage. At the time it was pending (A.D. 1716), a deputation from the small British factory at Calcutta was sent to the Emperor. It happened that with the deputation was a Scottish surgeon named Gabriel Hamilton; and as the emperor's marriage was delayed by his sickness, the services of the British doctor were sought for. The Emperor gratefully left it to Hamilton to choose his reward; and he, with rare disinterestedness, asked on behalf of the Company for the zamíndárship of thirty-seven towns in Bengal, and exemption from dues on their goods. This in a remarkable degree strengthened the position of the British in India [*see* Chap. VII., § 12].

§ 120. The most important event of this reign is the effectual check given to the progress of the Síkhs [*Comp.* § 108]. Their leader still was *Banda*, under whom they were guilty of great atrocities, and who was at length overcome and sent with 740 persons (saved for the purpose from a general massacre) to Dehli. They were there exposed to every insult from the justly enraged population. Banda was the victim of the most inhuman barbarities, while his followers were beheaded on seven successive days. They met torture and death with the most heroic courage, disdaining to a man to purchase life by renouncing their faith. The followers of Nának were nearly extirpated. In 1839 there were only 500,000 of them.

§ 121. The Mughul territories were now mercilessly ravaged by the Mahrattas.

Nizám-ul-mulk was made Viceroy of the Dakhin in 1713; but was soon removed to make way for the all-powerful Sayyid Husain Alí, who was so unsuccessful, that he made a treaty with Rájá Sáhu in 1717, acknowledging his claim to his father's possessions with all later conquests. (Chap. V., § 23). A body of 10,000 Mahrattas actually marched with Husain Alí, to enable him to make good his position at Dehli against all rivals. One of their leaders was the first Peshwá, Báláji Vishwanáth, where he remained till he obtained in 1720 a ratification of this [illegible] from Muhammad Sháh.

§ 122. The utter degradation of the Empire is hastening on. The vacillating Farrukh Siyar made several plots to rid himself of the Sayyids; but Husain Alí anticipated them by assassinating the unfortunate emperor.

PART XI. RAFI-UD-DARAJAT, AND RAFI-UD-DAULAH.

A. D. 1719.

§ 123. Rafí-ud-daraját. § 124. Rafí-ud-daulah.

§ 123. The Sayyids now set up a youth called Rafí-ud-daraját, who died in three months of consumption (A. D. 1719, February—May).

§ 124. They then selected Rafí-ud-daulah, who also died in a few months. These two names are not in the Muhammadan lists of Emperors.

PART XII. MUHAMMAD SHAH. A. D. 1719—1748.

§ 125. The Sayyids set up Muhammad Sháh. § 126. The overthrow of the Sayyids. § 127. Death of Husain Alí. § 128. Independence of the Rájpúts. § 129. Independence of the Nizám. § 130. Independence of Oudh. 131. The Mahrattas. § 132 Nádir Sháh. § 133. Death of Sa'ádat Khán. § 134. Death of Nizám-ul-mulk. § 135. The Rohillas. § 136. The Invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. § 137. Repelled by the Mughuls. § 138. Death of Muhammad Sháh. § 139. Independence of Bengal.

§ 125. The Sayyids at length chose Raushanakhtar, who took the name of Muhammad Sháh, and was the last emperor that sat on the peacock throne of Sháh Jahán. He owed his ultimate success mainly to the firmness and ability of his mother.

§ 126. *This emperor's reign, which lasted from A. D.* 1719 *to* 1748, *is one of the most eventful of the whole series.* The first great event was the overthrow of the king-makers, the Sayyids. This was effected chiefly by a combination between Nizám-ul-mulk and Sa'ádat Khán. The former openly rebelled, marched southward to recover his old Viceroyalty of the Dakhin, and overthrew the generals sent against him by the Sayyids, whose prestige was now well nigh destroyed. The Sayyids were Shíahs, and their opponents were Súnnis [*see* § 16].

§ 127. Husain Alí, taking with him the emperor, left Dehli for the Dakhin to oppose him, but was assassinated on the march. The surviving brother, Abdullah, acted with energy, set up another emperor in Dehli, and marched to meet the conspirators, but was defeated in the battle of Sháhpur, between Dehli and Agrah; soon after which Nizám-ul-mulk returned and took the office of Vazír.

§ 128. The Rájpúts now made good their independence in Ajmír, under Rájá Ajít Singh, the late emperor's father-in-law.

§ 129. Nor did Nizám-ul-mulk long remain at court. Disgusted with the laxity that prevailed there, he retired to the Dakhin, where he became from that time virtually independent.

§ 130. Sa'ádat Khán, the Persian adventurer, who had not long been in India, following his example, proceeded to make himself independent in Oudh, of which he was governor. Thus was the disintegration of the empire rapidly proceeding.

§ 131. The attacks made by the Mahrattas upon the empire, and their struggles with Nizám-ul-mulk, will be most fittingly recorded in the history of the Mahrattas. (Chap. V.)

§ 132. At this time (A. D. 1738) occurred the Persian invasion of India by the terrible Nádir Sháh, "the boast, the terror, and the execration of his country." This famous warrior, a shepherd from the shores of the Caspian, had delivered Persia from foreign invaders, and had usurped the throne of the country which he had liberated. (Chap. V.)

§ 133. It is said, on what seems sufficient authority, that he was invited to India by Nizám-ul-mulk and Sa'ádat Khán, and that he reproached them in Dehli with their perfidy, and spat on their beards; that the two disgraced traitors resolved to take poison; that Nizám-ul-mulk pretended to do so, but Sa'ádat Khán, outwitted by his rival, really did so, while the former, in after days, was wont to make merry at his too credulous rival's expense. It is certain that Sa'ádat Khán died while Nádir Sháh was in possession of Dehli.

§ 134. The Péshwá, Báji Ráo, died in 1740. (Chap. V., § 32). This led Nizám-ul-mulk, whose power in Dehli was supreme, again to leave court for the Dakhin (1741). His eldest son Gházi-ud-dín I., and his relative Kamar-ud-dín, were left as the emperor's confidential advisers. [He died the same year as the emperor, A. D. 1748.]

§ 135. The Rohillas at this period rose into importance. The district now called Rohilkhand was occupied by Alí Muhammad, an Afghán freebooter, in 1744.

§ 136. And now appeared one of the great invaders of India,—one who changed the whole history of the land, who six times passed the Attock: the first time in the army of Nádir Sháh, and the last time to break the Mahratta power at the third battle of Pánipát. This was Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. (Chap. V., § 34).

§ 137. This was his first appearance; but the valour of Prince Ahmad and the Vazír (1748) for the time rolled back the tide of invasion. From this expedition Ahmad Sháh was recalled by the tidings of the death of his father. The battle of Sarhind, where the Abdáli was defeated, was *the last great effort of the* Mughul Empire.

§ 138. During this expedition, in 1748, the faithful Vazír Kamar-ud-dín was killed by a shot while praying in his tent. He was Muhammad's faithful tried friend and companion; and his death hastened that of his master, which happened in April 1748, after a troubled reign of 30 years.

§ 139. During this reign the eastern Súbahs became virtually independent (§ 9). Múrshid Kulí Khán was succeeded in 1725 by Shujá-ud-dín, who died while Nádir Sháh was in Dehli. His son was overthrown by a servant of his father, *Alívardi Khán*, a man of talent and experience, whom the emperor confirmed in his usurped dominion [*see* Chap. IX., § 2].

PART XIII. RECENT HISTORY OF HAIDARABAD, AND OF OUDH.

§ 140. Salábat Jang. § 141. He is attacked by the Mahrattas. § 142. Aided by the French. § 143. Cession of territory to the Mahrattas. § 144. Cession of the Northern Circars to the French. § 145. French expedition to Mysor. § 146. French driven out of the Northern Circars by the English. § 147. Succession of Nizám Alí. § 148. The Mahrattas and Mysor. § 149. Treaty with the English. § 150. Death of Nizám Alí. § 151. Sikandar Jáh, Násir-ud-daulah, and Afzal-ud-daulah. § 152. Treaty of 1853. § 153. Recent history of Oudh.

§ 140. This is the place for a summary of the history of the kingdom which Nizám-ul-mulk founded in the Dakhin. The events immediately following his death will be found in Chap. VIII., § 18. We there see Salábat Jang, his third son, installed in Aurangábád, under the protection of the all-powerful Bussy.

§ 141. The eldest son, Gházi-ud-dín, had then avoided a contest for his father's dominions. He now, despising the weak and effeminate Salábat, induced Báláji Bájí Ráo, the third Peshwá, to aid him in an effort to overthrow him. Salábat, by a bribe of two lakhs, induced the Peshwá to retire in 1751. (Chap. V., § 35).

§ 142. Meanwhile Bussy consolidated his power, and maintaining strict discipline, kept his French force in a state of admirable efficiency. He saved Salábat by a masterly march on Púna, and by two brilliant victories over the Mahratta horse and the entire army of the Peshwá. An armistice being concluded, Salábat and Bussy returned to Aurangábád; where Gházi-ud-dín, with a large army, soon arrived, and would perhaps have succeeded in seating himself on the throne, had not the mother of the fourth son of Nizám-ul-mulk, Nizám Alí, who hoped to see her own son on the throne, administered poison to him (1752) and thus removed one of the two persons who stood between Nizám Alí and the elevation which he afterwards attained.

§ 143. The cession of a large tract of country north of the Wain Ganga, induced the Mahrattas to depart, leaving Salábat unmolested. Haidarábád now became the capital (Chap. V., § 36).

§ 144. In 1753 Bussy, having been ill-treated by the Súbahdár, managed things with such a firm and skilful hand that he contrived to obtain, as the price of his forgiveness, a grant of the Northern Circars, stretching along the coast for nearly 400 miles from the Chilka lake to the Pennár, possessing an area of 1700 square miles, well watered by the Krishna and Godávarí, and yielding an annual revenue of £400,000. This was by far the most valuable possession up to that time acquired by any European power in India.

§ 145. In 1755 Bussy accompanied Salábat on an expedition to Mysor; and in 1758 he saved Salábat from falling beneath the intrigues of his brother, Nizám Alí, and the minister Nawáz Khán.

§ 146. On the 18th June, 1758, Bussy was recalled by Count Lally; and was compelled to retire from the Dakhin when he was arbiter of its destinies (Chap. VIII., § 29). The same year Colonel Forde, sent by Clive from Calcutta, drove the French from the Northern Circars, and obtained a grant of them from the terrified Salábat Jang.

§ 147. Now came the contest between the Peshwá Báláji and Salábat Jang (Chap. V., § 40). Salábat Jang was dethroned in 1761 by his brother Nizám Alí, and was put to death by him in 1763. Nizám Alí then invaded the Carnatic, but was stopped by the English. Negotiations were entered into for an imperial grant of the Northern Circars, which was given; but with unaccountable timidity the Madras Presidency actually negotiated with Nizám Alí, and by the treaty of 1766 agreed to hold the Northern Circars under the Nizám, and to pay him eight lakhs a year as a tribute for them!

§ 148. The affairs of the Nizám are now mingled up with those of the Mahrattas and with Mysor, and must be studied in Chapters V. and XII.

§ 149. In 1798 Lord Wellesley made a treaty with the Nizám, by which a contingent of 6,000 troops was to be supported by the Nizám, and the French expelled. This alliance has not been

broken. The districts of *Ballari* (Belary) and *Kadapa* (Cuddapah), commonly called the "Ceded Districts," were made over in 1800, for the support of this contingent. Major (Sir T.) Munro was appointed collector, and held the appointment for 8 years. There he died when visiting those districts as Governor of Madras.

§ 150. Nizám Alí died in 1803, four days after the great war began. Metcalfe was resident at Haidarábád from 1820 to 1827. He introduced great reforms.

§ 151. Sikandar Jáh, his son, was put on the throne by Lord Wellesley. The Haidarábád authorities scandalously neglected their obligations during the war of 1803; yet Lord Wellesley generously made over Barár (taken from Nágpur) to the Nizám. The latter died in 1828. Násir-ud-daulah succeeded him. He died in 1857. The next Nizam was *Afzal-ud-daulah*. He died in 1869.

§ 152. In 1853 arrangements became necessary to secure the payment of the British contingent, maintained according to the treaty of 1801. This the Nizám could not secure; and certain districts in Barár (referred to above) chiefly cotton-growing lands, were made over temporarily to the British government. The result has been every way beneficial. Those districts themselves had been given to the Nizám by the English.

§ 153. The other kingdom rendered virtually independent, in the time of Muhammad Sháh, viz., that of Oudh, was annexed to the British empire by Lord Dalhousie, in 1856. It had never peace or prosperity from the days of the famous "Persian Pedlar," who founded it, till its annexation. From Sa'adat Khán to Wájid Alí Sháh, who was deposed, eleven princes had governed Oudh, including both those rulers. In 1819, by the advice of the Governor-General Lord Hastings, the Nawáb assumed the title of king and renounced all dependence upon the King of Dehli. Its government went on from bad to worse, till there was no alternative. It was reserved for Sir John Lawrence, in 1867, to make such final arrangements as seem likely to ensure the prosperity and contentment of that splendid province.

PART XIV. AHMAD SHAH. A. D. 1748—1754.

§ 154. Second Invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. § 155. Gházi-ud-dín II. § 156. Holkár in Dehli. § 157. Dismemberment of the empire.

§ 154. The thirteenth Mughul emperor was Ahmad Sháh, a son of Muhammad Sháh. His great antagonist was his namesake the Abdáli, who now made his second invasion; and peace was purchased, contrary to the wishes of the Umarás, by the premature cession to him of the provinces of Láhor and Multán, in 1748. The great men of his court were Mír Munu, son of

the late Vazír, and Viceroy of the Panjáb; Safdar Jang, nephew of Sa'ádat Khán, and his successor in Oudh; and Gházi-ud-dín, eldest son of Nizám-ul-mulk.

§ 155. Gházi-ud-dín soon left for the Dakhin, where he was poisoned [§ 142]. He left behind him a nephew, Mír Shaháb-ud-dín, or Gházi-ud-dín II., then a bold boy of 16, destined to become the most notorious man of his time. Between him and Safdar Jang were renewed the feuds of the grandfather of the one and the uncle of the other. The Mahrattas, under Malhár Ráo Holkár and Jayapá Sindia, espoused the cause of Gházi-ud-dín II.; the Játs, under Suráj Mall, Rájá of Bhartpur, aided Safdar Jang. The weak emperor feared to side with either, and was treacherous to each in turn.

§ 156. Holkár, by a bold movement, drove the emperor into Dehli, which he took. The nobles then, at the instigation of Gházi-ud-dín II., pronounced Ahmad unworthy to reign, in 1754. He was blinded and consigned to prison, where he died.

§ 157. The Mughul empire was in a wretched state. Gujarát, Bengal, Bihár, Orissa, Oudh, Rohilkhand, the Panjáb, the Dakhin (both the portions occupied by the sons of the old Nizám, and that possessed by the Mahrattas), and the Carnatic were fairly severed from the empire. Dehli waited to see what puppet the young king-maker Gházi-ud-dín would place on the throne.

PART XV. ALAMGIR II. A. D. 1754—1759.

§ 158. Accession of Alamgír II. § 159. Affairs of Oudh. § 160. The king-maker, Gházi-ud-dín II. § 161. Fourth Invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. § 162. Outrages of Gházi-ud-dín. § 163. Invasion of the Panjáb by the Mahrattas. § 164. Fifth Invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli: and death of the emperor. § 165. Fate of Gházi-ud-dín.

§ 158. Alamgír II. was uncle to the last emperor. Nothing more need be said of him than that he was assassinated by order of Gházi-ud-dín II., in November 1759.

§ 159. The Nawáb of Oudh, Safdar Jang, died about this time, and was succeeded by Shujá-ud-daulah (Chap. IX). Confusion, rapine, and anarchy prevailed throughout Hindústán.

§ 160. The interest of the reign centres in two persons, the king-maker Gházi-ud-dín II., and Alí Gauhar, the heir apparent, a gallant and generous man, thirty-two years of age at his father's accession, and afterwards emperor under the name of Sháh Alam II. The former, by his proceedings in Láhor, brought upon the empire, and on Dehli in particular, the calamities of another invasion by the dreaded Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. Mír Munu had died in Láhor, 1756; but the Abdáli confirmed his infant son

in the Government, under the guardianship of the widow and Adínah Beg Khán, a Mughul of great experience, but a traitor, who had always encouraged the Afghán invasions. The Panjáb soon fell into great disorder, in consequence of which the Síkhs increased rapidly, and all were discontented. Gházi-ud-dín now thought his time was come for recovering the province; but he forgot the terrible Abdáli, who would certainly resent any interference with his arrangements. Accordingly he set out upon an expedition, taking with him the heir-apparent, seized upon the regent and her daughter, to whom he had been betrothed; carried them to Dehli, and appointed Adínah Beg governor of the province. Ahmad immediately crossed the Attock (it was his fourth invasion) and marched to Dehli. The adroit Gházi-ud-dín, by the intercession of his mother-in-law, was pardoned; and rose higher than before, being employed by the conqueror to collect tribute, and pillage,

§ 161. The Abdáli entered Dehli, 11th September, 1757. A pestilence hastened his return to Kábul. He left his son Timúr Sháh his viceroy in Láhor, and a Rohilla chief, Nazíb-ud-daulah, chief minister at Dehli.

§ 162. Gházi-ud-dín, as soon as he was relieved of the Abdáli's presence, expelled Nazíb-ud-daulah, imprisoned the emperor's friend, and laid hands upon the heir-apparent himself. In fact he gave way without restraint to the despotic violence and cruelty of his natural character. The prince, however, escaped, and, after many wanderings, engaged (1759) in the expedition, the result of which is given in Chap. IX., § 16.

§ 163. This was the time (1758) when Raghoba, at the suggestion of Gházi-ud-dín and the invitation of Adínah Beg, again a traitor, made that showy and splendid but ill-judged and disastrous expedition into Láhor, which led to the ruin of the Mahratta power in the terrible overthrow of the *second* battle of Pánipat (1761). He overran the Panjáb, and returned triumphant, but with no spoil; having incurred a ruinous expense, and roused an enemy the most terrible the Mahrattas ever encountered—the Abdáli, who now made his fifth, last, and most terrible, invasion of Hindústán.

§ 164. He advanced towards Dehli in September 1759, prepared to take full vengeance upon the whole Mahratta race. Gházi-ud-dín, whose restless and cruel ambition had thrown everything into confusion, now consummated his crimes by the murder of the harmless emperor, whose headless trunk was thrown into the Jamnah. This was in November, 1759.

§ 165. The assassin then set up a son of Kámbaksh by the title of Sháh Jahán; but was obliged to flee from Dehli, and take refuge with Suráj Mall, the Jat leader. From this time the villain Gházi-ud-dín disappears, as does his puppet emperor, from history. In 1790 he was found by the English police in Súrat, and was, by the order of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, allowed to depart for Mecca, and was never again heard of.

PART XVI. SHAH ALAM II.; AND THE LAST MUGHUL EMPERORS.

§ 166. Ahmad Sháh Abdáli in Dehli. § 167. The Mahrattas defeated in the second battle of Pánipat. § 168. Sháh Alam II., a British pensioner. § 169. Death of Nazíb-ud-daulah. § 170. The Emperor joins the Máhrattas. § 171. The Mahrattas supreme in Dehli. § 172. Atrocities of Ghulám Kádir. § 173. The blind Emperor rescued by Lord Lake in 1803. § 174. Akbar, and Muhammad Bahádúr, the last Mughuls.

§ 166. The Abdáli now a second time entered Dehli, with fire and sword (1760); but soon retired to his camp at Anúpshahr on the Ganges. The issue of his struggle with the Mahrattas is given in Chap. V.

§ 167. The Mahrattas, under Sivadás Ráo, captured Dehli; where they elevated Jawán Bakht, son of the absent Sháh Alam, to the throne. There was a proposal to place Viswas Ráo on the throne, but this was judged inexpedient. After the second battle of Pánipat the victorious Abdáli again occupied Dehli, from whence he sent an embassy to Sháh Alam or Alí Gauhar, acknowledging him as emperor, and placing his son Jawán Bakht, as regent. He then quitted India.

§ 168. The proceedings of Sháh Alam, who was fighting against the English in Bihár, while the Abdáli was crushing the Mahrattas at Pánipat, are given in Chap. IX., § 16. Until Christmas-day, 1771, the emperor was an exile, for the most part in Allahábád, where he kept up a kind of Court as a British pensioner. It was not worth his while to attempt to return to Dehli, where Nazíb-ud-daulah the Vazír and the young prince managed affairs with great prudence.

Once more the Abdáli came on the stage to assist Nazíb-ud-daulah. Having defeated the Síkhs in several actions, he advanced to Pánipat, but soon returned finally to Kandahár.

§ 169. At the end of 1770 we find Nazíb-ud-daulah, a virtuous and wise minister, dead; and his son Zábítah Kháu filling his place. The Mahrattas occupy Dehli, where the prince regent and royal family reside. Sháh Alam is still a pensioner in Allahábád. At this time the Mahrattas made overtures to the emperor, offering for a large sum of money to restore him to his position in Dehli. The English dissuaded him from putting himself into their hands, but imposed no restraint.

§ 170. In 1771 he thus, escorted by an English force, crossed the borders of the district of Allahábád, to join his new friends the Mahrattas; and from that time the Mughul sovereign never claimed the right to interfere in the provinces to the east of that boundary. (Chap. V., § 53).

§ 171. There were now two great parties in Dehli—the Musalmáns, anxious to retain their scanty possessions, and the Mahrattas, striving to recover what they had lost at Pánipat.

Zábítah and his army were soon driven out of Dehli, and the Mahrattas were supreme. (Chap. V., § 53).

§ 172. We shall not pursue the history of the ruler of Dehli in detail. A few particulars will suffice to connect it with the other parts of the work. The eldest son of Zábítah Khán was Ghulám Kádir, who on his father's death in 1786 succeeded to his estates. This young chief asserted his claim to the honours possessed by his father, openly rebelled against the emperor, got possession of Dehli and of Sháh Alam's person, and under the pretence that he had concealed treasures, after heaping every species of indignity on the poor old emperor, struck out his eyes with his dagger. His sons and grandsons had been previously tortured before his eyes, August, 1788. One of these was the Muhammad Bahádúr, who permitted, if he did not instigate, similar atrocities in the same place in Dehli in 1857. (Chap. X., § 143).

§ 173. The poor blind emperor was soon rescued by the Mahrattas; but remained in extreme penury until, in 1803 (September 16), he was rescued by Lord Lake. (Chap. V., § 93). He died, December 18, 1806. The sceptre of Hindústán then passed into the hands of the British Government. Retribution fell on Ghulám Kádir; for, falling into the hands of Sindia, he was horribly tortured, mutilated, and at length his head was sent to be laid at the feet of his sightless victim in Dehli.

§ 174. The eldest son of Sháh Alam, whose regency we have read of, after many attempts to place his father in his rightful position, disappeared from the scene in 1770. The second son, *Akbar*, succeeded to the nominal dignity in 1806, and was the sixteenth Mughul Emperor. His son Muhammad Bahádúr Sháh succeeded in 1837. He was the *seventeenth and last* of the emperors of the race of Tímúr the Tatár. For his crimes and his fate, *see* Chap. X. §§ 143, 156.

His sons and grandson, infamous for their barbarous treatment of English prisoners in the mutiny, were shot by Captain Hodson, near Humáyún's tomb, September 22, 1857.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE DAKHIN DURING THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

PART I. FROM THE FIRST IRRUPTION OF THE MUHAMMADANS, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM. A. D. 1294—1347.

§ 1. State of the Dakhin at the time of the Irruption of the Muhammadans. § 2. Invasion of Alá-ud-dín Khiljí. § 3. Malik Káfúr. § 4. Mubárak Khiljí and Khusrau. § 5. Conquest of Warangal by Ulugh Khán. § 6. Establishment of Independent Kingdoms in the Dakhin. § 7. Hasan Gango Bahmani.

§ 1. The history of the Dakhin has been treated of in Chapter I., Part XIV. Occasional notices of its history have also been given in Chapters III. and IV. But it is necessary for the student to get a more connected view of the subject.

A reference to Chapter I., Part XIV., will show that the Dakhin was, at the time of the Muhammadan invasions, divided into a number of principalities. Dwára Samudra, in North Mysor, was the capital of a powerful dynasty, called the Ballála Rájás. An allied dynasty was reigning in Deogiri (or *Deogarh*), the modern Daulatábád. An *Andhra* dynasty was reigning on the eastern side, in Telingánah; their capital being Warangal.

§ 2. Alá-ud-dín Khiljí *(the sanguinary)*, in A. D. 1294, with 8,000 cavalry, marched through Barár to Ilichpur, and from thence to Deo-giri (or Deogarh), where Rámdeo was then reigning. After a show of resistance, the Rájpúts agreed to pay an immense ransom, and to cede Ilichpur and its dependencies. The weakness of the Hindú power in the Dakhin was thus unveiled to the unscrupulous Musalmán leaders; and thus the Muhammadans, by the unauthorised and rash zeal of Alá-ud-dín, obtained a footing in the south. The student will notice that this beginning of the work, which Aurangzeb nearly accomplished, of bringing all India under one dominion, was contemporaneous with the attempt of Edward I. (1272—1307) to reduce all Great Britain under one dominion; a work which the union of the

English and Scottish Parliaments, in A. D. 1707, the year of Aurangzeb's death, may be said to have accomplished.

§ 3. Four great expeditions into the south were undertaken during the reign of Alá-ud-dín, under Malik Káfúr [Chap. II., § 48]. A. D. 1306, 1309, 1310, 1312. Káfúr seems to have taken Madura in the last of these expeditions. In the course of these, Rámdeo was induced to visit Dehli, where his treatment was so generous, that he returned the attached and faithful vassal of the emperor. The Ballála Rájás of Dwára Samudra were also conquered, Warangal made tributary, and the whole of the south ravaged as far as Rámeshwar in the extreme south, where a mosque was built as the sign of Muhammadan supremacy.

§ 4. Harpál, a son-in-law of Rámdeo, strove to throw off the yoke; but was overcome and flayed alive by Mubárak Khiljí (A. D. 1318), who led the expedition himself. At the same time Malabar was conquered by Khusrau, who avenged the crimes of Alá-ud-dín by the murder of every member of his family.

§ 5. Ulugh Khán (Júná Khán, or Muhammad bin Tughlak), the second of the house of Tughlak, both before and after his accession, led armies into the Dakhin (A. D. 1322—1326). [*see* Chap. II, § 55]. After a severe repulse, he finally took Warangal (A. D. 1323) Fugitives from this place founded Vijaya-nagar, (Bíjánagar) on the banks of the Tumbadra, A. D. 1336. It was 24 miles in circumference, and its ruins are of the highest interest.

Mádhava Vidhyáranya, a learned Bráhman, was prime minister here, and is a great authority in the south in philosophy and grammar. (A. D. 1336).

§ 6. As Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign was marked by the establishment of the powerful Hindú kingdom of Vijayanagar; so was it also by the establishment of the *first independent* Muhammadan kingdom in the Dakhin. The Amírs of the Dakhin had incurred the displeasure of Muhammad by sheltering some rebellious nobles from Gujarát. These broke out into rebellion; and at length Zafar Khán, an Afghan, was recognised as their leader, and having overthrown the imperial general, was elected their sovereign. He had been the slave of a Bráhman called Gango, who is said to have foretold his rise, and to have shewn him singular kindness.

§ 7. He assumed the title of Sultán Alá-ud-dín Hasan Gango Bahmini; the last two titles (the Bráhman Gango) being in honour of his old master and benefactor. This was A. D. 1347. The new Sultán was wise and conciliating, as well as brave. He reigned for ten years, at peace with the Hindú kings.

The capital of this kingdom was Kalbargah, west of Golkondah.

This was the grand rebellion by which the power of Dehli was driven north of the Narbaddah, not to cross it again till the days of Akbar.

PART II. FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BAHMINI DYNASTY TO THE ABSORPTION OF THE DAKHIN IN THE MUGHUL EMPIRE. A. D. 1347—1640.

§ 8. The Bahmini dynasty, consisting of eighteen kings, reigned in the Dakhin for more than one hundred and fifty years. (A. D. 1347 to 1526).

§ 9. At the death of Hasan Gango Bahmini, his rule extended over nearly all Maháráshtra, a small portion of Telingánah, together with Ráichur and Mudgul in the Carnatic. When Muhammad Sháh I. succeeded Hasan Gango, he divided the kingdom into four parts, or *tarafs*—*viz.*, Kalbargah, Daulatábád, Telingánah, and Barár.

§ 10. The kingdom was at its zenith in the time of Mahmúd Sháh I., and his three successors Ghiás-ud-dín, Shams-ud-dín, and Fírúz Sháh (A D. 1378—1422). It was largely increased by successive conquests; and under Muhammad Sháh II., in 1463, the old divisions were sub-divided respectively into (1) Bíjápur and Ahsanábád, (2) Daulatábád and Juner, (3) Rájamandri and Warangal, (4) Gawal and Mehur. The dynasty became extinct on the death of Kalím-ullah in 1526; and out of the above provinces were formed the dominions of the several dynasties called Adil Sháhí, Nizám Sháhí, Kutb Sháhí, Imád Sháhí, and Bárid Sháhí.

§ 11. The governors of these provinces made themselves independent at different periods after A. D. 1489; thus forming, with the state of Bíjánagar, six powerful kingdoms of the Dakhin, which the successors of Bábar eventually subjugated. The struggles between the Muhammadan powers in the Dakhin and the Mughul Emperors, afforded an opportunity to the Mahrattas, as we shall see, to rise upon the ruins of both. No greater misfortune could have befallen the Musalmán dominion than this civil strife.

§ 12. Adil Sháh founded the Bíjápur kingdom, A. D. 1489. From him this dynasty was called the Adil Sháhí. The kingdom survived till 1686, when it was destroyed by Aurangzeb. Its struggles with Sivaji are related in Chap. V., § 7. The Mahrattas were very numerous in the armies of this State. The Muhammadan

kings fomented dissensions among the Hindús. The splendid ruins of Bíjápur still bear witness to the extraordinary grandeur of the city. The dome of the tomb of Muhammad Adil Sháh is 130 feet in diameter. The limits of the Bíjápur State may be roughly stated to have been from the Níra on the north to the Tumbadra on the south, and from the Bhíma and Krishna on the east, to the sea-coast from Goa to Bombay on the west.

§ 13. The second of these kingdoms was that of *Ahmadnagar*, governed by the Nizám Sháhí dynasty. This was founded by Malik Ahmad, son of Nizám-ul-Mulk, an apostate Bráhman of Bíjápur. He asserted his independence in A. D. 1487. This kingdom remained till 1637, when it was finally destroyed by Sháh Jahán. [*See* Chap. III., § 72].

The dominion of this State extended over the Súbah of Aurangábád and West Barár, with a portion of the Concan from Damán to Bombay.

§ 14. The Golkondah or Kutb Sháhí dynasty was the third of the Dakhiní Musalmán kingdoms. It was founded by Kutb-ul-Mulk, in 1512. It extended from Bíjápur and Ahmadnagar to the sea on the east. The kingdom of Golkondah was finally subverted by Aurangzeb, A. D. 1687. [Chap. III., § 98].

§ 15. The Barár kingdom was founded in 1484 by Fath-Ullah, and in 1574 was annexed to the Ahmadnagar state. The dynasty was called the Imád Sháhí. The capital was Ilichpur.

§ 16. It is sufficient to name the Baríd Sháhí dynasty with Bídar; and the kingdom of Khándesh to which Kalbargah belonged, which in 1599 was incorporated by Akbar [Chap. III., § 46].

§ 17. The history of these kingdoms of the Dakhin is connected with that of the Portuguese, from A. D. 1498 till the middle of the 17th century. [*See* Chap. VI.]

§ 18. The Hindú kingdom of Vijayanagar (Bíjánagar or Narsinga) long maintained its place among the powers of the Dakhin. Its limits nearly corresponded with those of the Madras presidency. But in 1565, the jealousy of the Muhammadan kings of Bíjápur, Ahmadnagar, Golkondah, and Bídar led them to combine to effect its destruction. The king then was Rám Rájá, the seventh of the dynasty of Narsinga, son-in-law of the Krishna Ráya, famous in the vernacular literature of the south. A battle took place at Talikot on the Krishna. The confederates behaved with great barbarity after their victory.

The territories subject to the Vijayanagar kingdom now fell into the hands of the zamíndárs or poligárs (*tent-men*). The brother of Rám Rájá settled at Chandragiri, 70 miles N. W. of Madras, near Tripati. He made a grant to the English in A. D. 1640 of the site of the city of Madras.

§ 19. The history of the Dakhin will now fall under the following topics, which must be studied in their places:—

(1.) The efforts of the Mughul Emperors to subjugate the Dakhin, from A. D. 1595 (Akbar) to A. D. 1688, when the work was nominally completed by Aurangzeb twenty years before his death. [*See* Chap. III., § 98].

(2.) The Mahratta History. [Chap. V.]

(3.) In the reign of the twelfth Mughul Emperor, the empire fell to pieces. During this period we have the establishment of the power of the Súbahdar of the Dakhin on an independent footing by Nizam-ul-mulk, A. D. 1723. [Chap. III., § 129].

(4.) In the south, of almost equal importance, is the history of Mysor. [Chap. XII.]

(5.) But the most important portion of modern Dakhin history is that of the struggles of the French and English, which resulted in the establishment of the authority of the latter over all the south of India. [Chap VIII.]

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS.

PART I. MAHRATTA HISTORY TO THE DEATH OF SIVAJI, A. D. 1680.

§ 1. The Mahratta Country. § 2. The Concan. § 3. Hill Forts. § 4. The Bhonslé Family. § 5. Sivaji. § 6. His Youth. § 7. His Rapid Progress. § 8. The Murder of Afzal Khán. § 9. Sivaji attacks the Mughuls. § 10. Sacks Súrat. § 11. Submits to Aurahgzeb. § 12. Visits Dehli. § 13. Resumes his Independence. § 14. Is solemnly enthroned. § 15. His Carnatic Expedition. § 16. His Son Sambaji. § 17. His Death.

§ 1. The country of the Mahrattas, or Maháráshtra (the great province), is bounded on the north by the Sátpúra mountains, and extends from about Súrat on the west, to the Wain Ganga, east of Nágpur. The boundary follows that river till it falls into the Warda, on to Mánikdrug, thence to Mehur, and thence to Goa. On the west it is bounded by the ocean. It is watered by the Narbadah, the Táptí, the Godávarí, the Bhíma, the Krishna, and their many tributaries.

§ 2. The Concan is the country from the Western Gháts to the sea, from Sivadásagarh to the Táptí. It is an uneven country, with high hills and thick jungles, having only narrow defiles reaching up to the table lands. It varies in breadth from 25 to 50 miles. Some of the mountain valleys on the eastern edge of the Concan are called Máwals. From these came the hardy Máwalis employed by Sivaji. In the north are found Bhils, Kolis, and other wild tribes. The Ramosis, who are often the watchmen in the Mahratta country, are a numerous tribe on the table land.

§ 3. The character of the Mahrattas has in all periods been much affected by a peculiarity in the physical geography of their country. Huge masses of basaltic rock, protruded through the alluvial soil throughout the whole country, rise to the height of from forty to four hundred feet. These with little labour are capable of being made into fortresses very difficult of access and of great strength. These were the Mahratta Hill forts.

§ 4. There were many very respectable and wealthy chiefs among the Mahrattas in the times of the early Muhammadan kings; and multitudes of Mahrattas were in their armies, and even in civil employments under them. One family especially, of the name of *Bhonslé*, had its principal residence at Ellor near Daulatábád. Of that family was the renowned SIVAJI MAHA-RAJA. His grandfather was Malloji, commander of a party of horse in the service of Murtaza Nizam Sháh [A.D. 1577]. Malloji's eldest son was Sháji. He was high in favour in the Ahmadnagar court. It was told him by the goddess, according to Mahratta legends, that one of his family should become king, restore Hindú customs, protect Bráhmans and kine, and be the first of a line of twenty-seven rulers of the land. Shaji fought under Malik Ambar, and in the wars of the Bíjapur Government against Mahábat Khán.

He had three legitimate sons:—SAMBAJI, who was with him; SIVAJI, who lived chiefly with his mother Jíjí Bái; VENKAJI, the third son, was by a second wife.

§ 5. The history is now chiefly concerned with Sivaji, *who may be considered the founder of the Mahratta power.*

Sivaji was born at the fort of Sáoner in A. D. 1627. He was early taught all that it was considered necessary for a Mahratta chieftain to know, but he never could write his name. He was brought up a zealous Hindu, thoroughly versed in the mythological and legendary stories current among his countrymen. His hatred of Muhammadans prepared him for that life of intense hostility to Aurangzeb which he led.

§ 6. From his boyhood he seems to have planned his after-career; and he was but nineteen years of age, when he seized the hill fort of Tornea, twenty miles S.W. of Púna. He found a large treasure in the ruins near this fort, which he spent in building another which he called Rajgarh. Born in a fort, his greatness arose from his forts, and in a fort he died. From this circumstance Aurangzeb contemptuously called him "a mountain-rat."

§ 7. His advance was rapid. He obtained possession of Kondaneh (Singhgarh), Súpa, and Púrandhar. Meanwhile he tried every art to deceive the Bíjapur authorities, who probably thought they could crush him whenever they pleased. The suspicions of Muhammad Adil Sháh being at length roused by the acts of open violence to which Sivaji proceeded, he sent for Sháji, built him up in a stone dungeon, leaving only a small aperture, which was to be closed, if in a fixed time Sivaji did not surrender himself. Sivaji now boldly entered into correspondence with Sháh Jahán, who by his artful representations was induced to forgive Sháji, admit him into the imperial service, and to give Sivaji himself the command of 5,000 horse. By the Emperor's intercession Sháji's life was saved; but he remained a prisoner for four years.

Sivaji contrived to evade the fulfilment of his promise to enter the imperial service; and in A. D. 1657 actually carried his marauding expeditions into the Mughul territory. In 1650, Prince

Aurangzeb for the second time became viceroy of the Dakhin, and invaded the territories of Golkondah and Bíjápur. Sivaji now attacked both parties by turns; and availed himself of every turn of fortune to increase his power and possessions. His progress was favoured by the death, in 1656, of Muhammad Adil Sháh, who was succeeded by his son, a youth of nineteen.

§ 8. In 1659, the Bíjápur Government made an attempt to crush Sivaji, which he rendered unsuccessful by an act of treachery, celebrated in Mahratta history. He enticed their commander, Afzal Khán, to a conference; and in the customary embrace, he struck a *wagnakh* (a steel instrument with three crooked blades, like the claws of a tiger), which he had secreted for the purpose, into the bowels of his unfortunate enemy; and quickly dispatched him with a *bichwa*, or scorpion-shaped dagger. The Bíjápur troops disheartened at the loss of their general, were cut to pieces, or made prisoners.

The decisive advantage gained by this act of detestible treachery greatly benefited Sivaji's position; and many successful campaigns followed.

§ 9. In 1662, Sháísta Khán was viceroy of the Dakhin; and Sivaji, at peace with Bíjápur, attacked the Mughuls, and ravaged the country to Aurangábád, where the Mughul viceroy lived. Sháísta Khán marched southward, and after storming Chákan, took up his abode in Púna, in the very house where Sivaji was brought up. Sivaji now performed one of those exploits which more than anything else make his name famous among his countrymen. With a part of his men at nightfall he slipped unperceived into the city, mingled with a marriage procession, passed through the out-offices of the well-known house, and almost surprised the Khán in his bed chamber. The Mughul escaped with the loss of two fingers; but his son and attendants were slain. Sivaji made off, and ascended his hill fort of Singhgarh (twelve miles off), amidst a blaze of torches. If this adventure did nothing else, it inspirited his men, and taught them to despise the Mughuls.

§ 10. His next exploit was the sack of Súrat; the English factory alone escaping, by the determined valour of its defenders. This was particularly offensive to Aurangzeb, as pilgrims to Mecca embarked from Súrat, hence called Báb-ul-Makkah, *the gate of Mecca.* Sivaji, in 1664, assumed the title of Rájá, and began to coin money. He also collected a fleet of 85 ships, sailed down the coast, sacked Barcelor, and plundered the adjacent country. He even attacked some vessels conveying pilgrims to Mecca, and thus doubly roused the indignation of Aurangzeb, ever the champion of the Muhammadan faith.

§ 11. The Emperor now sent experienced generals to chastise Sivaji, who after a while submitted, and surrendered twenty of his forts, retaining twelve as a Jágír from the Emperor. His son Sambaji was to become a commander of 5,000 horse in the Mughul army. He was also to have certain assignments of

revenues, called *chauth* (or *the fourth*), and *surdes hmukhi* (or 10 per cent.), on some districts of Bijápur. This was the ground for the ill-defined claims of the Mahrattas in aftertimes to plunder and extort tributes from the inhabitants of every province of the empire. Sivaji now joined the imperial army, and so distinguished himself in the invasion of Bíjápur that the Emperor wrote him a complimentary letter, and invited him to Dehli.

§ 12. Sivaji, accordingly, in March 1666, with his son, set out for the Court. Aurangzeb received him haughtily; and Sivaji finding himself slighted, and in fact a prisoner, contrived to escape with Sambaji, and reached Ráigarh in December. Thus did the Emperor foolishly lose an opportunity of converting an enemy into a firm friend and vassal.

§ 13. Sivaji now openly, for a time, resumed his old attitude of defiance; but soon, through the intercession of Jeswant Singh, obtained most favourable terms from Aurangzeb; and in fact was left in perfect independence, though doubtless this was done with the intention of crushing him, when an opportunity should present itself. In 1668, he compelled the Courts of Bíjápur and Golkondah to pay him tribute. He employed the years 1668 and 1669 in revising and completing the internal arrangements of his kingdom.

At this time Sultán Muazzam and Jeswant Singh were regularly receiving money from Sivaji. This coming to the knowledge of Aurangzeb, he wrote to threaten both with punishment, if the "mountain-rat" were not seized. Sivaji, now roused into activity, began to seize upon the forts around. Especially is the storming of Ráigarh famous, in which affair Tannaji Malusrái, one of his most famous warriors, was slain. He also a second time sacked Súrat; but the English again successfully defended their factory.

§ 14. In 1674, Sivaji was solemnly enthroned at Ráigarh. He was then weighed against gold; and the sum, 16,000 pagodas, (about ten stone) given to Bráhmans. From that time he assumed the most high-sounding titles, and maintained more than royal dignity in all his actions.

§ 15. In 1676, Sivaji undertook his celebrated expedition into the Carnatic. His object was to enforce his claims to half the possessions of his father Sháji. In his way he had an interview with Kutb Sháh of Golkondah, when a treaty was negotiated between them. He soon made himself master of the whole of his father's jágír, took Vellor and many places in the neighbourhood; and came to an agreement with his half-brother Venkaji, then in Tanjor, by which a portion of the revenues of the whole territory was to be paid him annually. On his return he plundered Jálna, and was attacked by Dilír Khán's orders on his way to Ráigarh with the plunder; but succeeded in beating off his assailants and making his escape.

§ 16. Sivaji had now a great affliction in the bad conduct of his son, Sambaji; who, being put under restraint for outrageous conduct, actually went over to Dilír Khán, who strove to use

him in the furtherance of intrigues against his father; but, on the Emperor ordering that he should be sent a prisoner to Dehli, the Mughul general connived at his escape.

§ 17. Sivaji's last days drew near. He died at Rájgarh of fever, brought on by a swelling in his knee-joint, on the 5th April 1680. To Sivaji must be conceded a high place among the men who have accomplished great things, and whose name and fame will endure.

PART II. MAHRATTA HISTORY FROM THE DEATH OF SIVAJI TO THE LIBERATION OF SAHU. A. D. 1680—1708.

§ 18. Sambaji's Cruelty. § 19. Aurangzeb's Expedition into the Dakhin, and the Death of Sambaji. § 20. Nominal Accessor of Sáhu. § 21. The regent Rájá Rám.

§ 18. SAMBAJI succeeded to the throne, after overcoming a faction that wished to supersede him and to set up Rám Rájá a younger son of Sivaji. He began his reign under most unfavourable circumstances. His father had foreseen the troubles that his unrestrained passions would bring on his people. He began by putting to death Soyerá Báí, the mother of Rám Rájá; and by this and other executions gained a character for relentless cruelty.

§ 19. Sambaji, having espoused the cause of Sultán Muhammad Akbar against his father Aurangzeb, besieged Jinjíra, but in vain; and was engaged in petty hostilities with the Portuguese and English when tidings reached him of the design of Aurangzeb to undertake the subjugation of the entire Dakhin. Sultán Muazzam was sent as viceroy to Aurungábád for the fourth time; and the Emperor soon followed (A. D. 1683), and took up his abode at Burhánpur.

Sambaji's wars with the Portuguese were disgraced by the barbarities committed by both parties; and neither gained any decided success. During all Aurangzeb's victorious course from 1683 to 1689, Sambaji was most unaccountably in a state of nearly total inactivity. He was finally surprised in a state of intoxication at Sangameswar, with Kulusha his Bráhman minister. He was offered his life if he would become a Musalmán. "Tell the Emperor," said he, "that if he will give me his daughter, I will do so." He added words of bitter insult to Muhammad. The enraged Emperor ordered a red hot iron to be passed over his eyes, his tongue to be torn out, and his head to be cut off. He and his minister suffered at Tolapur, in August 1689. His death aroused the Mahrattas to form schemes of vengeance, but did not daunt them.

§ 20. Sambaji left a son six years old whose name was Sivaji; but who is known in history by the name of SAHU (Sháo), meaning *thief*, a nickname given to him by the Emperor. This boy and his mother were taken prisoners soon after. He remained a prisoner till after Aurangzeb's death. He is considered the third Rajá of the Mahrattas.

§ 21. Meanwhile Rájá Rám, the half brother of Sambaji, was declared regent, and making a rapid flight, established his court at Ginji. Thither the Emperor first despatched Zulfikár Khán and Dáúd Khán Panni, and afterwards the Prince Kámbaksh; but owing to various intrigues, the place was not taken till 1698, and then Raja Rám was allowed to escape and take refuge in Visalgarh. In 1700, the Emperor in person took Sátára; and in the same year Raja Ram died. His widow Tara Báí assumed the regency; and the strife between the Mughuls and Mahrattas was kept up till the Emperor's death, which took place in 1707.

PART III. MAHRATTA HISTORY FROM THE LIBERATION OF SAHU TO THE SECOND BATTLE OF PANIPAT.

A. D. 1708—1761.

§ 22. Release of Sáhu. § 23. The First Peshwá. § 24. The Second Peshwá. § 25. Rise of various Mahratta Leaders. § 26. Báji Ráo's Plans. § 27. The Mahrattas of Kolhápur. § 28. The Mahrattas in Málwah. § 29. The Mahrattas in Dehli. § 30. Nádir Sháh. § 31. The Storming of Bassein. § 32. Last Acts of Báji Ráo. § 33. The Third Peshwá. § 34. First Invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. § 35. Death of Sáhu. § 36. Progress of the Nágpur Mahrattas. § 37. Raghoba. § 38. English War with the Pirates. § 39. The Mahrattas in Mysor. § 40. The Battle of Udgir. § 41. Events leading to the Second Battle of Pánipat. § 42. Preparations for the Battle. § 43. The Battle. § 44. Death of Báláji Báji Ráo.

§ 22. Sáhu, the grandson of Sivaji, was still a prisoner. Aurangzeb had behaved to him with unvarying kindness; and had restored to him his grandfather's famous sword Bhaváni and the sword of the murdered Afzal Khán. There was even an intention at one time of releasing him, and of granting to the Mahrattas a percentage on the revenues of the districts they occupied, on the condition that they maintained tranquillity therein, and remained faithful to the Imperial Government. Azam Sháh, on his father's death, carried out this plan; and in 1708, Sáhu obtained possession of Sátára, though Tárá Báí and her son Sivaji affected to consider him an impostor, and strove to maintain their position till the death of the latter in 1712.

§ 23. Sáhu's power was consolidated by the wise measures of his able minister BÁLAJI VISWANATH; who, about this time (1712). was received into his service, and made Peshwá or prime-minister, an office which had carried little authority with it before his time, but which his ability soon made paramount, and which he was able to make hereditary in his family. From this time the Bráhman Peshwás are the real heads of the Mahratta confederation; the Rájás, the descendants of the great Sivaji, being merely nominal rulers, living in splendour, as State prisoners, in Sátára.

Sáhu himself was in manners a Muhammadan, indolent, and luxurious, delegating his power to his Peshwá, and openly acknowledging himself a vassal of Dehli; yet, under Báláji, the Mahratta power was at this time extended and consolidated in a most remarkable manner.

Negotiations between Sáhu and the Court of Dehli were set on foot; in consequence of which, in 1718, Báláji, in command of a large contingent, was sent to Dehli, to assist the Sayyids. This was the beginning of Mahratta influence in Dehli; with which, till 1803, they were so closely connected. At this time the Sayyid Husain, by treaty, ceded to them the *chauth*, or fourth part of the revenues of the Dakhin, the *surdeshmukhi*, or additional ten per cent., and the *swáráji*, or absolute control of the districts about Púna and Sátára.

Báláji did not long survive his return. He died in October 1270, soon after the battle of Sháhpur; which destroyed the power of the Sayyids, and established Mahammad Sháh upon the throne of the decaying empire. [Chap. III., § 127].

§ 24. BAJI RAO, the eldest son of Báláji, succeeded to the title, and is generally styled the second Peshwá.

§ 25. About the year 1724, several Mahratta officers, who afterwards became independent leaders, or founders of States, rose to distinction. The first of these was Malhárji Holkár, a cavalry soldier of the Sudra caste. The second was Ránoji Sindia, a descendant of an old Rájpút family, who was at one time the Peshwá's slipper-bearer, and was promoted for his fidelity in this humble position. The third was Uduji Puar, an enterprising warrior of Málwah. The fourth was Pilaji Gaikwár (or cowherd), son of Damaji, who, by valour and treachery, rose to eminence. The fifth was Fath Singh Bhonslé, ancestor of the Rájás of Akálkot.

§ 26. Báji Ráo's great design was to extend Mahratta power in Hindústán. In a debate before Sáhu, he said, "Now is our time to drive strangers from the land of the Hindús, and to acquire immortal renown. By directing our efforts to Hindústán, the Mahratta flag in your reign shall fly from the Krishna to the Attock. Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree (the Mughul empire), and the branches must fall of themselves!" Sáhu, roused for the moment to the display of something like the spirit of his grandfather, replied, "You shall plant may flag on the Himálaya. You are the noble son of a worthy father."

§ 27. The founding of the Kolhápur Ráj was the first great schism among the Mahrattas. *Sambaji*, the son of Rájis Rái, the younger wife of Rájá Rám, was the rival of Sáhu; and Nizám-ul-Mulk strove to foment the rivalries between the courts of Kolhápur and Sátára; but the former never attained any great influence.

§ 28. By 1734, Mahratta power was fully established in Málwah; where Jai Singh, the Rájput governor, appointed by the Emperor, was entirely under their influence.

§ 29. In 1746, Báji Ráo, with his Mahrattas, appeared under the walls of Dehli; and now Nizám-ul-Mulk was induced, for a time, to return and assist the harassed emperor. He collected troops from every quarter; and marching into Málwah, met Báji Ráo near Bhopál. Both armies were large and well supplied. Nizám-ul-Mulk allowed himself to be surrounded; and unable to escape from the blockade, was compelled to sign a convention, granting to the Peshwá the whole of Málwah and the territory between the Narbaddah and the Chambal; and to engage to try to obtain fifty lakhs of rupees from the Emperor, to pay the Peshwá's expenses.

§ 30. Soon after this, the tidings of the arrival of Nádir Sháh reached Báji Ráo. He was greatly excited by the intelligence. "There is now," said he, "but one enemy in Hindústán. Hindús and Musalmáns, the whole power of the Dakhin must assemble, and I shall spread our Mahrattas from the Narbaddah to the Chambal." Nádir Sháh's retreat soon followed, and he addressed letters to Sáhu and to Báji Ráo (among others), bidding them obey Muhammad Sháh, whom he had replaced on the throne, and threatening to return and punish them if they should disobey.

§ 31. There was now war between the Portuguese and the Mahrattas. The principal exploit that marks it, is the storming of Bassein, May 1739. This was the greatest siege ever undertaken by the Mahrattas.

§ 32. Báji Ráo, after settling his northern frontier, putting his affairs in Málwah in order, making treaties with the Rájá of Bandelkhand and the Rájpúts, set himself to achieve the conquest of the Dakhin and the Carnatic.

Nizám-ul-Mulk's second son, Násir Jang, was then at Aurangábád, as his father's representative; and after a fruitless campaign, Báji was obliged to make peace with him.

Báji Ráo died in 1740: a year that is on many accounts memorable in Indian history. He was ambitious, a thorough soldier, hardy, self-denying, persevering, and, after his fashion, patriotic. He was no unworthy rival of Nizám-ul-Mulk, and wielded the mighty arm of Mahratta power with incomparable energy.

§ 33. Báláji Báji Ráo, commonly called the Third Peshwá, succeeded his father; not, however, without opposition. At this time Raghuji Bhonslé may be looked upon as Rájá of Barár, Ananda Ráo Puar as Rájá of Dhar, Damaji Gaikwár as independ-

ent in Gujarát, Malhár Ráo Holkár in the south of Málwah, Jaiapa Sindia in the north-east of Málwah, Fath Singh Bhonslé in Akalkot, while Sambaji reigned in Kolhápur. Sáhu was in his luxurious retirement in Sátára. PUNA about this time became the residence of the Peshwás, and may be regarded as the capital of the widely extended Mahratta confederacy. Their progress had been amazingly rapid.

Báláji now applied to the Emperor (Muhammad Sháh) for confirmation in his office; which was granted through the mediation of Rájá Jai Singh and Nizám-ul-Mulk.

§ 34. Now began the invasions of Hindústán by Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, which ended in the terrible overthrow of the Mahrattas at Pánipat in 1761.

§ 35. Sáhu died in 1748, and was succeeded by Rám Rájá, the posthumous son of the second Sivaji, whose birth had been kept a secret (1712); but Báláji, with his usual duplicity, contrived to maintain his ground and to involve in ruin those who would have made the death of the Rájá an occasion for attempting to shake his power. His war with Salábat Jang and Bussy, though he sustained a great defeat from the French at Rájápur, was terminated by an armistice in April 1752, without dishonour to the Mahrattas.

§ 36. Meanwhile Raghuji Bhonslé had secured the whole province of Cattack as far as Baleswara (Balasor), and had wrested from the Haidarábád dominion all the districts between the Wain Ganga and the Godávarí.

§ 37. It is about this time that *Raghunátha Ráo* (or *Raghoba*), brother of Báláji, who was to play such an important part in the First (English) *Mahratta War*, begins to appear in history.

§ 38. The English at the time came into closer contact with the Mahrattas. Along the western coast there were several chiefs of Abyssinian descent, called Sidis. The most important of these was the Sidi of Jinjíra, an island in the harbour of Rájápur. His ships swept the whole western coast. Another chief of great power was *Tulaji Angria*, one of a race of pirates, whose head-quarters were at *Viziadrúg* or *Gheriah*, and Severndrúg or *Suvarnadrúg*. Several attempts were made by the English, in concert with the Peshwá, to rescue Súrat from the Sidi of Jinjíra, and to prevent the piracies of Angria. Commodore James took Severndrúg in March 1755; and in 1756 (Colonel) Clive, with Admiral Watson, by direction of the Bombay Government, undertook the utter destruction of the pirates' stronghold. This was effected. [See Chap. VIII., § 28].

§ 39. The year 1757, which the battle of Plassey has rendered memorable in English history, was marked by an invasion of the Carnatic by the Peshwá in person. Mysor was then under the power of Nandiráj, the diwán of Chik Kistna Ráyar; and Haidar Alí, an adventurer whose rise resembled that of Sivaji, was coming into notice. They levied tribute from Mysor, as

well as from the Nawáb of Arcot, Muhammad Alí, then under British protection.

§ 40. In 1760, the Mahrattas obtained their greatest success, as in 1761 they sustained their most disastrous defeat. The battles of Udgir (*Udayagiri*) and Pánipat respectively mark the attainment of their highest elevation, and the destruction of their hopes of ever ruling India.

The Peshwá had obtained possession of Ahmadnagar; to wrest it from him, Salábat Jang and Nizám Alí marched against him. The result was complete victory to the Peshwá, at UDGIR. A treaty followed, by which Daulatábád, Asirgarh, Bíjápur, and the province of Aurangábád were made over to the Mahrattas.

The Mughuls were thus confined within the narrowest limits. Had the Mahrattas now possessed lofty and patriotic aims, they might have become the rulers of India.

§ 41. The Peshwá was encamped on the bank of the Manjera, near Udgir. He was triumphant; but he was to hear tidings there which would break his heart.

Raghoba had invaded Láhor, making a splendid but temporary conquest (May 1758). This was the cause of the war of the Mahrattas with Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, and from this may be dated the beginning of the decline of the Mahratta power. The Rohilla, Nazíb-ud-daulah, and Shujá-ud-daulah, Nawáb of Oudh, took up arms in self-defence against the Mahrattas; and Ahmad Sháh Abdáli crossed the Indus for the fifth time, to aid the confederates against the hated Hindú race. He was, however, as much an object of terror to the one party as to the other. The Mahrattas, under Malhár Ráo Holkár and Dattaji Sindia, retreated along the west bank of the Jamnah, before Ahmad Sháh, and lost two-thirds of their number near Dehli. A further slaughter of Holkár's troops by the Afgháns took place at Sikandra, near Dehli.

§ 42. Sivadás Ráo Bháo and Viswas Ráo, son of the Peshwá, now marched northward to recover the lost reputation of the Mahrattas, and to drive the Afgháns beyond the Attock. Udgir had unduly elated them. They had 20,000 chosen horse, and 10,000 infantry and artillery, under Ibráhím Khán Gardí, who had been trained by Bussy, though now in Mahratta employ.

The Mahrattas (and it was a sign of decay) contrary to old custom, took the field with great splendour. All Mahratta chiefs were ordered to join them. The total number of Mahratta troops assembled was 55,000 horse, 15,000 foot, and about 200,000 Pindáris and followers. They had also 200 pieces of cannon. The Muhammadans had 46,800 horse, 38,000 foot, and 70 pieces of cannon. From October 28th to January 6th, 1761, continual skirmishes took place; but the Abdáli steadily refused a general engagement. The improvident Mahrattas were without provisions or money, and were in fact closely besieged.

§ 43. On the 7th January, Sivadása Ráo sent a note to their friendly mediator Shujá-ud-daulah, saying, "The cup is now full

to the brim, and cannot hold another drop;" and the whole Mahratta army, prepared to conquer or die, marched out to attack the Afghán camp. From day-break till 2 P.M., the rival cries of "Har, Har, Mádeo" and "dín, dín," resounded. The Afgháns were physically stronger; and in this terrible struggle, their powers of endurance at last prevailed against the fierce enthusiasm of the Mahrattas. By 2 P.M., Viswas Ráo was killed. In despair Sivadása Ráo descended from his elephant, mounted his horse, and charged into the thickest of the fight. He was seen no more. Holkár left the field, with some imputation on his fidelity to his cause. Thousands perished in the fight, and the remainder were surrounded, taken prisoners, and cruelly beheaded the next morning. Of the few who escaped to bear the tidings to the Peshwá, who was still encamped on the banks of the Godávarí, was Báláji Janárdan, who afterwards become so famous under the official title of the Náná Farnavís (the lord of the records).

§ 44. The Peshwá never recovered the shock, and died at Púna in June. He was cunning, sensual, and indolent, but charitable and kindly; and his memory is respected by his countrymen. The whole Mahratta race was thus thrown into mourning in 1761; their hope of supremacy in India had vanished, while every family bewailed its dead.

PART IV. MAHRATTA HISTORY FROM THE SECOND BATTLE OF PANIPAT TO THE TREATY OF SALBAI. A. D. 1761—1782.

§ 45. Mádu Ráo, Fourth Peshwá. § 46. The Four Ablest Mahrattas. § 47. War with Haidar Alí. § 48. Malhár Ráo Holkár succeeded by Ahalyá Báí. § 49. Raghoba in Prison. § 50. Sindia. § 51. Rám Sástri. 52. Mádu Ráo in the Carnatic, 1770. § 53. The Mahrattas Supreme in Dehli. § 54. Mádu Ráo succeeded by Náráyana Ráo as Fifth Peshwá. § 55. Murder of Náráyana Ráo. § 56. Raghoba, nominal Peshwá. § 57. Mádu Ráo Náráyana, Sixth Peshwá. § 58. Raghoba negociates with the Bombay Government. § 59. The Treaty of Súrat, 1775. § 60. Raghoba helped by the English at Bombay. § 61. The Calcutta Government at first hostile to Raghoba. § 62. Troops sent to Raghoba from Calcutta. § 63. Colonel Goddard's March. § 64. Bombay Disasters. § 65. The Convention of Wargám. § 66. Disallowed by the Bombay Government. § 67. Operations of Goddard, Hartley, and Popham. § 68. Combination against the English. § 69. The Treaty of Salbái.

§ 45. The fourth Peshwá was Mádu Ráo, the second son of Báláji Ráo, and the younger brother of the unfortunate Viswas Ráo.

Mádu Ráo succeeded at the age of 17; and died in 1772, at the early age of 28. He was the most heroic of the line. His uncle Raghunátha Ráo (Raghoba) was his guardian.

This was the time for the Mughuls to avenge their defeat at Udgir, and regain their ascendancy in the Dakhin; but they only succeeded in obtaining some cessions in Aurangábád and Barár. Dissensions prevailed during this period among the Mahratta leaders; and Raghoba had to wage a civil war before he could gain his full authority as regent. He had also to fight with Nizám Alí, who was stirred up by Junoji Bhonslé of Barár, who hoped to make himself supreme in the Mahratta confederacy. Raghoba behaved with much courage and prudence; and though Púna was once sacked by Nizám Alí, at length defeated the Mughuls and made an advantageous peace.

§ 46. At this time, and for many years after, Sakarám Bápu and Náná Farnavís (a young man, just rising into importance) were the ablest Mahratta statesmen; while Trimbak Ráo Máma and Hari Pant were the greatest soldiers in the service of the Púna Government.

§ 47. There was now rising in the Carnatic an enemy to the Mahrattas who, imitating Sivaji, was laying the foundations of a kingdom. This was Haidar Alí of Mysor [*see* Chap. XII.] To oppose Haidar, in 1764, the young Peshwá led an army across the Krishna. The issue of the campaign was favourable to the Mahrattas; and Haidar was compelled to abandon all he had taken from the chiefs of that nation, and to pay thirty-two lakhs of rupees.

§ 48. In 1766, Malhár Ráo Holkár died. For forty-two years he had been one of the bravest spirits among the Mahrattas. He had only one son, who died in 1755; and his grandson died soon after his grandfather. The widow of the former, whose name was Ahalyá Báí, succeeded to the supreme authority in Indor, and held it till her death in 1795. She was one of the most extraordinary women that ever lived. She adopted, by consent of the Peshwá, an experienced soldier called *Tukají Holhár*, who was no relation to the family. He assumed command of the army, and one of his descendants still rules in Indor. Tukaji always paid to Ahalyá Báí filial reverence. She ruled, while he was Commander-in-Chief.

She was devout, merciful, and laborious to an extraordinary degree; and raised Indor from a village to a wealthy city. She was well educated, and possessed of a remarkably acute mind. She became a widow when she was twenty years old, and her son died a raving maniac, soon after. These things coloured her whole existence. In one thing she far excelled the renowned English Queen Elizabeth: she was insensible to flattery. While living, she was "one of the purest and most exemplary rulers that ever lived," and she is now worshipped in Málwalí as an incarnation of the deity.

§ 49. The Barár Rájá was ever ready to intrigue or fight against the Púna Government; the Peshwá succeeded however at length in bringing him to complete submission. Raghoba himself was taken prisoner and confined in Púna, till released by Mádu Ráo just before his death (1772).

§ 50. The affairs of the great Málwah, or Sindia, branch of the Mahrattas, demand attention. Ránoji was the founder of the family. His son Jayupa succeeded him, and was assassinated in 1759. His son Jankoji, the third of the line, was executed the day after the battle of Pánipat. An illegitimate son of Ránoji, by name Mahádaji, became, 1761, the head of the family. He had been wounded at the battle of Pánipat, and was lame ever after. We shall find him the chief rival of the Náná Farnavís, and virtually independent after the treaty of Salbái. Till his death in 1794, he was the most prominent Mahratta leader.

§ 51. Mahratta history is ennobled by the character of Rám Sástri, who was Mádu's tutor and spiritual guide. Profoundly learned, a pattern of integrity and of prudence, he reproved princes, awed the most dissolute, shewed a bright example of industry, zeal and benevolence, and his memory is still revered by the Mahrattas.

§ 52. The last great effort of Mádu's life was his expedition into the Carnatic, to enforce the payment of the tribute, which Haidar, relying on his treaty with the English, had dared to withhold. After a terrible defeat, the Mysor army was shut up in Seringapatam. The siege was unsuccessful; but a peace, by which Haidar virtually yielded all demands, was made in April 1772.

§ 53. In 1769, the Mahrattas crossed the Chambal; being the first time that they had ventured to show themselves in Hindústán, in any force, since their terrible disaster in 1761. They levied tribute from the Rájpút states and overran the districts occupied by the Játs; and in the neighbourhood of Bhartpur dictated an agreement, by which sixty-five lakhs of rupees were to be paid as tribute by the latter people. Nor did they pause till Sháh Alam II., the nominal Emperor of Dehli, was in their power, and they were in fact masters of the Empire.

§ 54. Mádu Ráo, who had long been sick, died on 18th November, 1772, in his 28th year. His early death was as great a calamity to the Mahrattas as the defeat at Pánipat. He was brave, prudent, bent on promoting the welfare of his people, firm in maintaining his authority, and with many difficulties to encounter, a successful ruler. At the period of his death, the Mahratta revenue may be calculated at seven millions of pounds sterling.

§ 55. On the death of the Peshwá, his younger brother Náráyana Ráo succeeded him, in his 18th year. His uncle Raghoba was his guardian. Sakarám Bápu was prime minister, and Náná Farnavís one of the high officers of state. In August, Náráyana Ráo was murdered. A conspiracy, which Raghoba favoured, had been formed to seize the young Peshwá; but the murder seems to have been planned by Ananda Bái, the wicked wife of Raghoba. When the assassins attacked the poor youth, he ran to his uncle's apartments and begged him to defend him. This Raghoba tried to do; but in vain.

§ 56. RAGHOBA now assumed the dignity of Peshwá. Meanwhile in Hindústán, the Emperor Sháh Álam II., incited by Nazíb Khán, strove to free himself from the Mahratta yoke; but was defeated in a battle at Dehli, December, 1772. This made the Mahrattas more than ever masters of the Emperor.

§ 57. A revolution was now pending at Púna. A strong confederacy was formed against Raghóba, of which Sakarám Bápu, Náná Farnavís, and Hari Pant were the heads. A battle was fought, in which Raghoba was victorious, and Trimbak Máma was killed; but his cause was ruined by the birth, in April 1774, of Náráyana Ráo's posthumous son, Mádu Ráo Náráyana, whom, rejecting Raghoba's claims, we may call the Sixth Peshwá.

§ 58. Raghoba advanced to the banks of the Táptí, where he hoped to be joined by Sindia and Holkár. There he entered into a negotiation with the Bombay Government, under Mr. Hornby; promising to cede to the English *Salsette, the smaller islands near Bombay*, and *Bassein, with its dependencies*, as the price of their assistance. While these negotiations were pending, Raghoba's son, Báji Ráo Raghunáth, was born, 1774. He in due time became the seventh and last of the Peshwás.

§ 59. The long pending treaty between the Bombay Government and Raghoba was signed March 6th, 1775, at Súrat. It was a wrong step, doubtless: and it led to the *First Mahratta War*; but at the time it seemed the best for the British interests.

§ 60. The Bombay Government now sent Lieutenant-Colonel Keating and a force of 1,500 men to Súrat, to conduct Raghoba to Púna, and instal him as Peshwá. By this time nearly all the Mahratta chiefs were in arms against Raghoba and his English allies. Keating, after some fruitless negotiations, marched from the neighbourhood of Kambáy towards the bank of the Mái; and reached the plain of Arras, where he gained a complete, but dearly bought, victory. An engagement took place also by sea, and Commodore Moor was there successful. All things seemed favourable to Raghoba, who made some valuable cessions of territory to the Bombay Government. Yet Raghoba was unpopular with the whole Mahratta people, by whom his real character was duly estimated.

§ 61. The Supreme Government, with Warren Hastings at its head, assumed the administration of all the Company's affairs in India, according to the provisions of the Regulating Act, on 20th October 1774 [*see* Chap. X., § 1]. They pronounced the treaty with Ragoba to be "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised and unjust;" and sent Colonel Upton to Púna, and concluded the treaty of Púrandhar (near Púna) with Sakarám Bápu and Náná Farnavís, on 1st March 1776. The cause of Raghoba was to be abandoned; but Salsette retained. Mr. Hornby, then at the head of the Bombay Government, believed Raghoba to be innocent, and Mádu Ráo Náráyana to be a supposititious child. The Bombay Government still clung to Raghoba's cause, and received him with 200 followers into Súrat, where he appealed to the Directors and to King

George III. The Court of Directors approved of the treaty of Súrat; and, at last, the intrigues of the Púna Government with the French compelled the Supreme Government to coincide with Bombay in espousing the cause of Raghoba, 1777.

§ 62. It was time for some decisive action on the part of the English. An adventurer called St. Lubin, had induced the French Government to send him to Púna, to ascertain what might be gained by an alliance with the Mahrattas. Náná Farnavís encouraged him; and the Supreme Government now united with the Bombay authorities in the resolution to bring Raghoba back to Púna. Troops were despatched by land from Calcutta, under Colonel Leslie, who delayed on his march, was recalled, and died in October 1778.

§ 63. Colonel Goddard then assumed command, and reached Súrat on 6th February 1779. His route lay through Multán, Khemlassa, Bhilsa, Bhopál, Hoshangábád, Burhánpur, to Súrat. He was treated by the Nawáb of Bhopál with a kindness which laid the foundation of an amity, which has ever since subsisted between that State and the British. This wonderful land-march was projected by Hastings, and filled India with astonishment. In England it was termed "a frantic military exploit;" but without some such heroic frenzies, the English would not be now paramount in India.

§ 64. Meanwhile, shame and disaster had befallen the Bombay army. After many discussions and much intrigue, it was resolved at Bombay to send a force direct to Púna, to place Raghoba there as regent. This army left Bombay, November 22, 1778, landed at Punála, ascended the Gháts to Khandála, December 23, and on the 9th January reached Talegáon.

The expedition was under the command of Colonel Egerton, with whom were associated Messrs. Mostyn and Carnac. Mr. Mostyn (an able man, often employed in Mahratta affairs), died at the very outset. At Talegáon, the two gentlemen who were responsible, came to the determination to retreat. Two thousand six hundred British troops were led back by their weak, sickly, and inexperienced commander, and his civilian colleague. Of course, their retreat was known at once. The army was pursued; and though Captain Hartley especially distinguished himself, it was considered impossible to retreat farther than *Wargám*, and negotiations were commenced with Náná Farnavís. There were two Mahratta authorities with whom Mr. Carnac could negotiate—Náná Farnavís and Mahádaji Sindia, who were rivals, though both essential to the conduct of Mahratta affairs at the time.

§ 65. With Sindia, to whom Raghoba had given himself up, the convention was at last concluded: Hartley protesting. Everything was to be restored to the position in which it was in 1773; an order was to be sent, forbidding the advance of the Bengal troops; and Broach was to be made over to Sindia, with 41,000 rupees in presents to his servants! Two hostages,

Mr. Farmer and Lieut. Stewart, were given. *Such was the disgraceful Convention of Wargám*, January 1779.

§ 66. The Bombay Government, and the Court of Directors, at once disallowed the convention, as beyond the powers of those who had concluded it; and dismissed Colonel Egerton and Mr. Carnac from the service. Hartley was deservedly applauded and made Lieut.-Colonel.

§ 67. Meanwhile Goddard had reached Súrat, with instructions to negotiate a peace with Púna, on the basis of the treaty of Púrandhar, with a provision for the exclusion of the French. Raghoba had now joined him as a fugitive. Náná Farnavís demanded as preliminary concessions, the surrender of Raghoba and of Salsette. As this was out of the question, active hostilities were commenced January 1, 1780. The forts of Dubhoy and Ahmadábád were taken by storm. Sindia and Holkár now joined their forces to oppose Goddard, who drove them off; but could then do no more. Hartley defended the Concan, where Kalián was taken. Captain William Popham, aided by Captain Bruce, was sent from Bengal to attack Málwah and effect a diversion. Lahár and afterwards Gwáliár were taken in the most heroic style, by escalade.

§ 68. Now came Haidar's memorable invasion of the Carnatic, July 1780. As all the resources of Bengal were required to meet this terrible attack, Bombay was left to itself. "We have no resource," said Governor Hornby, "but such as we may find in our own efforts." The English were engaged in two great wars. The strength of India, east and west, was arrayed against them. The Nizám, the Mahrattas, and Haidar formed a triple alliance. Hartley kept the Concan with admirable skill and bravery; while Goddard took *Bassein*. Goddard was compelled to retreat by the combined forces of the Mahrattas, and no great advantages were afterwards gained.

§ 69. The terms of a peace were arranged in January 1782; but it was not concluded till the last day of that year. It is called the treaty of Salbái. Mahádaji Sindia was the Peshwá's plenipotentiary. Its chief provisions were, that Raghoba should have 25,000 rupees a month, and live where he chose; that all territory should remain as before the treaty of Púrandhar; all Europeans, except the Portuguese, should be excluded from the Mahratta dominions; that Haidar (who died while the treaty was being negotiated) should be compelled to relinquish his conquests from the English, and from the Nawáb of Arcot in the Carnatic; and that Broach should be given to Sindia, for his humanity to the English, after the Convention of Wargám.

PART V. FROM THE END OF THE FIRST MAHRATTA WAR TO THE TREATY OF BASSEIN. A. D. 1782—1802.

§ 70. Sindia at Dehli. § 71. The Mahrattas and Tippú. § 72. Progress of Mahádaji Sindia. § 73. Ghulám Kádir. § 74. Sindia's Power. § 75. He defeats Holkár. § 76. His Death. § 77. Disunion among the Mahrattas. § 78. War with Nizám Alí. § 79. Battle of Kurdlá, 1795. § 80. Suicide of the Peshwá. § 81. Accession of Báji Ráo II., the last Peshwá. § 82. Imprisonment and release of Náná Farnavís. § 83. Jeswant Ráo Holkár. § 84. Death of Náná Farnavís. § 85. War between Sindia and Holkár. § 86. Establishment of British influence. § 87. The Treaty of Bassein.

§ 70. The effect of the treaty of Salbái was to favour greatly Sindia's desire to form an independent Mahratta dominion. About this time he took possession of Gwáliár from the Ráná of Gohad, who had forfeited his claim to British protection. He then turned his attention to Dehli, where he obtained supreme authority; and was made by Sháh Alam II., Commander-in-Chief of the forces and manager of the provinces of Dehli and Agrah. In 1785, he was so elated by his position at Dehli, as to make a claim on the British Government for *Chauth*, for their Bengal provinces. Mr. Macpherson compelled him to disavow this claim.

§ 71. From 1784 to 1787 the Mahrattas, in alliance with Nizám Alí, were at war with Tippú. Náná Farnavís made great attempts to induce the English to join them, but in vain. The treaty of Salbái had bound the English and Mahrattas not to assist each other's enemies; but the English were not prepared to assist in an offensive war against Tippú, to whom they were bound by the unfortunate treaty of Mangalor. Nothing remarkable was effected during the war; at the conclusion of which Tippú engaged to pay 45 lakhs of rupees as tribute to the Mahrattas.

§ 72. From 1785 to 1789 the chief interest connected with Mahratta history is centred in Mahádaji Sindia, who was vigorously prosecuting his schemes in Hindústán. He was engaged in severe struggles with Pratáb Singh, the Rájá of Jaipur, as well as with the Rájá of Jodhpur, and with many of the lesser Muhammadan Jágírdárs, from whom he tried to extort tribute. A part of his troops were under the command of a Frenchman, General De Boigne.

§ 73. Ghulám Kádir, son of the Rohilla chieftain Zábítah Khan, now appeared on the scene. He was the hereditary enemy of Sindia. This infamous person, in the course of the struggle, occupied Dehli, and was guilty of unparalleled atrocities there. The wretched emperor, Sháh Alam II., was deprived of his eyes, and every member of his family exposed to deadly insult [*see* Chap. III., § 172]. Sindia soon recovered Dehli and reinstated

the fallen monarch. Ghulám Kádir was taken, and put to a horrible death. Bídar Bakht, whom he had made emperor, was also slain.

§ 74. Sindia was now fully bent on making himself an independent sovereign. He continued supreme at the Mughul Court. In 1790 he procured from Sháh Alam II., for the third time, the title of Vakíl-i-Mutlaq or chief minister, for the Peshwá. Sindia and his heirs were to be perpetual deputies of the Peshwá in this office, which was now made hereditary. To convey the patents and insignia of this office to the Peshwá, Sindia now marched to Púna. His arrival filled Náná Farnavís with apprehension. The ceremony of investing the Peshwá with the insignia of office was most splendid. Sindia's one object was to make himself supreme at Púna; but he affected extreme humility, carried a pair of slippers as a memento of his hereditary office, and would receive no title but that of Patel, or village headman.

It was now a game of skill between the Náná and Sindia.

§ 75. Meanwhile in Hindústán the jealousy between Holkár and Sindia led to a battle between the former and Sindia's generals De Boigne, Perron, Gopál Ráo and Lakwa Dádá. This bloody battle was fought at Lakairi near Ajmír. Holkár's army was utterly routed, and retreated to Málwah.

§ 76. Sindia, thus powerful everywhere, would probably have succeeded in overthrowing the Bráhman influence altogether, had he not died suddenly, at Wanáoli near Púna, 12th February 1794. His career was most eventful. The chief Mahratta leader for 35 years, he mediated between the Peshwá and the English, and at the same time ruled the puppet Emperor with a rod of iron. He was succeeded by his grand-nephew Daulat Ráo Sindia, then in his 15th year.

§ 77. Náná Farnavís was now the only Mahratta statesman. The Mahratta confederacy still maintained the nominal supremacy of the Peshwá; but the people were losing their adventurous spirit, and each chieftain was gradually becoming independent of any central authority.

§ 78. The disputes between Nizám Alí and the Náná, regarding arrears of tribute, grew more and more complicated. Sir John Shore would not interfere. War was begun in December 1794. Under the Peshwá's banner, *for the last time*, came all the great Mahratta chiefs.

§ 79. At Kúrdlá (March 1795), a victory was obtained by the Mahrattas, more the result of a panic among the Mughuls, than of Mahratta bravery. But Nizám Alí was obliged to treat. An obnoxious minister, Mashir-ul-mulk, who had resisted the Mahratta claims, was surrendered. Raymond, a Frenchman, was in command of the Haidarábád troops; while Perron was with Sindia's contingent. When the Haidarábád minister was surrendered, the young Peshwá was seen to look sad; and when asked the cause by the Náná, he replied, "I grieve to see such a degeneracy as there must be, on both sides, when the Mughuls can so disgracefully submit to, and our troops can vaunt so much, a victory

obtained without an effort." The young Peshwá was just twenty-one years of age.

§ 80. The Náná was now in the zenith of his power and influence; but he lost his popularity by his treatment of Raghoba's sons, whom he imprisoned in Sáoner. Báji Ráo was the eldest, and was most accomplished, winning in his manners, and a general favourite. The Náná forcibly prevented all intercourse between the young Peshwá and his cousin, and this so irritated the young prince, that he threw himself from a terrace of his palace, and died in two days (1795).

§ 81. After endless intrigues, Sindia and the Náná united in the elevation of Báji Ráo; and in December 1796, he was placed on the *masnad*, with Náná Farnavís once more prime minister. Báji Ráo II., though of most prepossessing manners and appearance, was a worthless man, fitted to bring ruin, as he did, on the State which had the misfortune to receive him for its ruler. His first endeavour was to rid himself of Daulat Ráo Sindia and of the Náná.

§ 82. The former was continually in Púna, where he overruled the young Peshwá, whom he determined to send back to Hindústán. But first the ruin of the Náná must be effected. It was determined, with the aid of Sindia, to seize him. Púna for a day and a night was a scene of bloodshed and confusion. The Náná was sent a prisoner to Ahmednagar. Shirzi Ráo *Ghatgay*, father-in-law of Sindia, was made minister; and was allowed to plunder, torture, and kill the inhabitants of Púna at his pleasure. He was an execrable monster. Most disgraceful scenes were enacted in Púna. Sindia wished to return to Hindústán; but could not find funds to pay his troops, and several battles, resulting from domestic quarrels, took place. The Náná was liberated at the earnest request of Báji Ráo; who even paid him a midnight visit in disguise, threw himself before the old minister, and swore that he had never consented to his seizure. The Náná again became minister.

§ 83. Tukaji Holkár died in 1795. He left four sons. The eldest was imbecile. The second was Malhár Ráo, who was killed this year in a fray at Púna; and the third, who was illegitimate, was called Jeswant Ráo. He eventually succeeded to the government. Meanwhile he became a great freebooter, and a formidable rival to Sindia. The century closed with universal confusion in Mahratta affairs. Civil war, in which the Rájá at Sátára, the Kolhápur chief, Sindia, and the Peshwá's own officers were engaged, raged through the whole country.

§ 84. The death of Náná Farnavís, which happened in March 1800, sealed the ruin of the Peshwá's government. He was an astute statesman, personally timid; on the whole, a patriot. He firmly opposed the introduction of the Subsidiary System into Púna; respected and admired the English; but politically regarded them ever with fear and aversion.

§ 85. In the end of 1800, Sindia returned to Málwah, where several bloody battles were fought between him and Jeswant Ráo Holkár. The infamous Ghatgay joined his father-in-law Sindia's army, and under his command the troops gained a complete victory over Holkár; and the result was the pillage of Indor, in revenge for that of Ujjain. Jeswant Ráo was now nearly ruined. Sindia's and the Peshwá's troops gained several great advantages over him: but he, by a skilful march, arrived unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of Púna, and there gained a decisive victory, October 25, 1801. This battle had the most momentous results. The Peshwá fled; and offered to Colonel Barry Close, the British Resident, an engagement to subsidize six battalions of sepoys, and to pay 25 lakhs of rupees annually for their support. He eventually passed over to *Bassein*, and put himself under British protection.

§ 86. The entanglement of affairs was very strange. The real Rájá of the Mahrattas was in Sátára, a mere puppet. His chief minister and the real sovereign (Báji Ráo II.), the seventh Peshwá, was driven from his capital by his feudatory Holkár, with whom Sindia was at war. The British had to mediate. The Mahratta confederation was at an end. Meanwhile at Baroda (now the capital of the Gaikwár), on the death of Govind Ráo, the disputes about the succession compelled the English to interfere. They took the part of Ráoji Appáji as minister of the young Gaikwár, Anand Ráo, who was of weak intellect. Baroda was taken, a subsidiary force received, and the state came under the subsidiary system, January 1803. *Súrat* was finally taken possession of by Governor Duncan in 1799.

§ 87. To return: Holkár soon began to plunder Púna, and set up a new Peshwá, son of Amrita Ráo. This hastened the signing of the treaty of Bassein, 31st December 1802. This celebrated treaty disunited for ever the Mahrattas, and gave the English complete authority over them. By it the Peshwá engaged, (1) to receive a subsidiary force and to pay twenty-six lakhs for its maintenance annually; (2) to receive no European, or any hostile nation into his dominions; (3) to give up all claims to Súrat, and to leave his disputes with the Nizám and the Gaikwá to British mediation; (4) to remain the faithful ally of England. Full protection to him and his territories was guaranteed by the British. Thus did Báji Ráo sacrifice his independence, and that of the race and people; but the blame must rest on the shoulders of the ambitious chieftains whose dissensions for ever ruined the Mahratta interest.

PART VI. THE SECOND AND THIRD MAHRATTA WARS. A. D. 1802—1805.

§ 88. Preparations for War. § 89. The Peshwá reinstated. § 90. The British and Mahratta Forces. § 91. The Capture of Ahmadnagar. § 92. The Battle of Assai. § 93. Progress of the Campaign under Lake and Stevenson. § 94. Battle of Láswári, and Triumph of Lake. § 95. British Victories in other Parts. § 96. Treaty of Deogáon with Nágpur. § 97. Treaty with Sindia. § 98. Third Mahratta War with Holkár. § 99. Summary of its Events. § 100. First Siege of Bhartpur. § 101. New Treaties with Sindia and Holkár.

§ 88. Daulat Ráo Sindia and Raghuji Bhonslé were both opposed to the treaty of Bassein, and prepared for war. Lord Wellesley had to reinstate the Peshwá in Púna. Jeswant Ráo Holkár was in possession of Púna, Sindia at Burhánpur with an army. Raghuji was preparing for war. Two armies were now marched, by the command of the Governor-General. One under Major-General Arthur Wellesley, assembled on the northern frontier of Mysor; and the other, consisting of the Haidarábád subsidiary force, was encamped at Purinda, on the eastern border of the Peshwá's territory. General Wellesley reached Púna by forced marches on 20th April (1803).

§ 89. The Peshwá was reinstated in May. Holkár retreated to Málwah, and Stevenson advanced to the Godávari to protect the country. The two chieftains, Daulat Ráo Sindia and Raghuji Bhonslé, still pretended to be well inclined to the British; but demurred to the treaty of Bassein. General Wellesley, to whom the whole authority, political as well as military, had been entrusted, required that Sindia should withdraw to Málwah, and Raghuji Bhonslé to Barár, when he would remove the British troops. This they refused to do, and the SECOND MAHRATTA WAR began.

§ 90. Lord Wellesley determined to attack the confederates at every point. The British troops were stationed in the following places: (1) General Wellesley had 8,930 men, and was encamped near Ahmadnagar; (2) Stevenson had 7,920 men, on the bank of the Godávari; (3) General Stewart, with a covering army, was stationed between the Krishna and Tungabadra; (4) in Gujarát there were 7,352 men, under General Murray, holding the various forts, of whom 5,000 were ready for field service; (5) in Hindústán, General Lake had 10,500 men; (6) at Allahábád, 3,500 men were ready to act on Bandelkhand; (7) 5,216 men were prepared to march on Cattack, the extreme eastern point of Raghuji Bhonslé's dominions. A glance at the map will show how completely the Mahratta powers were within the meshes of a mighty net.

To oppose these were Daulat Ráo Sindia's troops and those of Raghuji Bhonslé, consisting of 50,000 horse, 30,000 infantry, commanded by Europeans, numerous and well served artillery, and a great multitude of irregular troops. Sindia's troops in

Hindústán were under M. Perron, the Frenchman. Jeswant Ráo Holkár remained in Málwah plundering, and striving to maintain neutrality.

§ 91. The first great blow was the capture of *Ahmadnagar*, August 12, 1803. Colonel Stevenson took Jálna, September 9.

§ 92. The second great blow was the victory of Assai. The whole Mahratta army was now encamped near the village of Bokerdun. On 23rd September, Wellesley learned that the confederates were encamped on the Kaitna, near its confluence with the Juah, both being tributaries of the Purna, which is a main affluent of the Godávarí. In the fork of the two first rivers is the fortified village of Assai. On the advance of the British troops, the Mahrattas began a terrible cannonade. The 74th Regiment, the 19th Light Dragoons, and the 4th Native Infantry nobly contested the field. The Dragoons only numbered 300; but they bravely charged the whole Mahratta force. The enemy's line gave way, were forced into the Juah at the point of the bayonet, by the advancing line of British infantry, and the battle was won: but one-third of the British troops lay dead upon the field. Daulat Ráo Sindia and Raghují Bhonslé fled from the field early in the day.

§ 93. The next undertakings were the reduction of the city of Burhánpur, and of the fort of Asirgarh. These were accomplished (October 21) by Colonel Stevenson. In Gujarát the city of Broach, the fort of Pawangarh, and the town of Champánír were taken (September 17). Meanwhile in Hindústán, General Lake, with the same powers that Wellesley possessed in the Dakhin, marched from Cawnpur against Sindia's army under Perron, and took Coel and the fort of Alígarh (August 29). At this time Perron and his staff retired from Sindia's service. M. Louis Bourquin succeeded Perron. He met the English under the walls of Dehli, and was defeated in a battle, skilfully fought by Lake (September 11). Dehli surrendered; the person and family of Sháh Alam II. came into Lord Lake's power (see Chap. III., § 173). Bourquin and the other French officers surrendered. Agrah was besieged and taken (October 18).

§ 94. Lake now set out in pursuit of another wing of Sindia's army, which retired before him to the hills of Mewát. He overtook it (November 1), near LASWARI, and a most severely contested battle was fought. The veterans trained by DeBoigne died heroically in the field. The victory was complete; and it laid all Sindia's dominion in Hindústán, from Dehli and Agrah to the Chambal, at Lake's feet.

§ 95. Colonel Harcourt was sent against Cattack, which he took (October 10). By the 14th of October, the whole district of Cattack was conquered. Colonel Powell cleared Bandelkhand. (From September 16 to October 13). In the Dakhin negotiations for peace were entered into by the Mahratta chiefs, but in a vacillating and deceitful manner. Wellesley now

attacked the confederates at Argáon, and gained a complete victory. Gáwilgarh was taken (December 15) by Colonel Stevenson.

§ 96. On 17th December, Raghuji Bhonslé, utterly discomfited, signed a treaty by which he ceded Cuttack and Balasor; gave up all his territory west of the Warda and south of the range of hills on which Gáwilgarh stands; agreed to submit to British arbitration all disputes between himself, the Nizám, and the Peshwá; and engaged to admit no foreigners, hostile to Great Britain, into his service. This is called the TREATY OF DEOGAON. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone was the first Resident at the Nágpur Court.

§ 97. Very reluctantly, on 30th December 1803, did Daulat Ráo Sindia sign a treaty, by which he ceded to the English all his territory between the Jamnah and the Ganges; all north of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Gohad; the forts of Ahmadnagar and Broach and their districts; all between the Adjunta Ghát and the Godávarí. Major Thomas Malcolm was the first resident at Sindia's Court. This is called the TREATY OF SIRJI ANJENGAON. Thus ended *the Second Mahratta War*. It really lasted about four months. Skilful combination, vigour, and bravery mark every operation.

§ 98. The British had now (1804) three armies in the field,—one at Jánábád, one at Púna, and one under Lord Lake, in Hindústán. The two former were preserving peace in the newly assigned districts, and the last was watching Jeswant Ráo Holkár. This chieftain, after many negotiations, proceeded to plunder Ajmír, and to threaten the Rájpúts under British protection. He demanded also cessions of territory, and it became evident that war with him was inevitable. This began in April 1804, and lasted till December 1805. It may be called the Third Mahratta War. We shall give a summary only of the events connected with it.

§ 99. The fort of Tank Rámpura was stormed, May 16. Colonel Monson was driven from the Mokhundra Pass to Dehli, losing his guns and baggage, and many of his troops, July 8—August 31. Holkár attacked Dehli, but was repulsed by Colonel Ochterlony, the resident, October 8—14. General Frazer and Colonel Monson gained a complete victory at Díg, in which General Frazer fell, November 13; Colonel Monson took 87 guns, among which were fourteen that he had lost. General Lake fell upon Holkár's troops at Farakhábád and cut them up, November 17. Lake besieged Díg, which was stormed, December 23. Thus all Holkár's forts, Chándúr, Galna, and his capital, Indor, had been captured. Díg and Bhartpur belonged to the Játs Rájá, who had behaved treacherously to his allies the British.

§ 100. Bhartpur was now besieged, January 2, 1805. It is a fortified town, six or eight miles in circumference, surrounded by a very lofty mud wall, and regarded as impregnable by the Hindús. The Rájá was resolute in his defence, and Lord Lake was not prepared for such a siege. Four assaults failed. Mean-

while Holkár and his friends were surprised and cut up on every side, by General Lake and his active officers. On the 16th April, the Rájá came to terms, and though the city had not been taken, paid 20 lakhs of rupees, and renounced Holkár's alliance. This was a gain; but the ill success of the siege left a bad impression, which was not removed till Lord Combermere took the city in 1825.

§ 101. Daulat Ráo Sindia now broke faith, seized Mr. Jenkins, the assistant resident, and with his father-in-law, the infamous Ghatgay, and Ambaji Inglia, espoused, though not quite openly, Holkár's cause. Now came the appointment of Lord Cornwallis, July 30, 1805. [*See* Chap. X., § 40]. His mission was to restore peace at any sacrifice! Lord Lake conducted the negotiations. A new treaty was made with Sindia, on the basis of that of Sirji Anjengaon. Gwáliár was taken from the Ráná of Gohad, who was unfit for government. Jeswant Ráo Holkár was driven by Lord Lake into the Panjáb, where he obtained no assistance from the Síkhs. He sued for peace; and, fortunately for him, Sir G. Barlow's policy permitted him to obtain it on ludicrously easy terms (November 1805).

PART VII. EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO 1805.

§ 102. Causes of the Downfall of the Mahrattas. § 103. Death of Jeswant Ráo Holkár. § 104. Rise of Amír Khán. § 105. Affairs in Púna. § 106. Trimbakji Dainglia. § 107. The Pindáris. § 108. Appá Saheb. § 109. Preparations for the Pindári War. § 110. Submission of Sindia and Amír Khán. § 111. The Attack on the Púna Residency. § 112. The Flight of Báji Ráo. § 113. The Defence of Koregám. § 114. Deposition of Báji Ráo, the last Peshwá. § 115. Appá Saheb at Nágpur. § 116. The Attack on the Nágpur Residency. § 117. Fall of Appá Saheb (1817), and Annexation of Nágpur (1853). § 118. Progress of the Pindári War. § 119. Battle of Mahidpur, and Treaty of Mandeswar. § 120. End of the Pindári leaders. § 121. Settlement of the Mahratta Country.

§ 102. We are approaching the last period of Mahratta History. The causes of the downfall of the Mahrattas were many. *First*, excessive aggrandisement of Mahádaji Sindia, making him independent of the Peshwá; and, in fact, a rival to him. *Secondly*, the dissensions consequent on the death of Náráyana Ráo, the quarrels and rivalries of Raghoba, Náná Farnavís, Báji Ráo II., Jeswant Ráo Holkár and Daulat Ráo Sindia, completely disintegrated the confederation. *Thirdly*, the confederation had within itself elements of disunion, and consequent weak[illegible] The Peshwá and his councillors were Bráhmans; Sindia, Holkár, and Raghuji Bhonslé were of lower castes. *Fourthly*, Sháh Alam II. was now in the power of the British. Under the shadow of the new paramount power, the corruption and disorder which favoured the rise of the Mahrattas cannot exist.

§ 103. Jeswant Ráo Holkár, after committing many atrocities, went mad in 1808, and died so in 1811. His State was now in a condition of extreme disorder. It was administered by Tulsí Báí, a concubine of Jeswant Ráo Holkár, in the name of Malhár Ráo Holkár, an illegitimate son of that chief. In 1810, Daulat Ráo Sindia made Gwáliár his head-quarters.

§ 104. The name of *Amír Khán* appears frequently in the history of this period. He was an Afghán adventurer, who aided Jeswant Ráo Holkár in his early struggles (1800), became his greatest general, took the control of affairs during his insanity, and was bent on establishing himself in Rájpútána (1809).

§ 105. In Púna from 1803 to 1810, Colonel Sir Barry Close was Resident. Bájí Ráo was full of hatred to the English, while sensible of the strength which their troops gave him. He professed the utmost cordiality; but intrigued with Sindia. His great delight was to humble and oppress the families that had been opposed to his party. In 1811, the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had been on General Wellesley's staff in 1803, and who had just returned from his celebrated mission to Kábul, was appointed Resident. He knew the people and the work, and had much direct personal intercourse with the natives.

§ 106. We are now introduced (1813) to the man whose connexion consummated the ruin of the Mahrattas. *Trimbakji Dainglia* was a spy; and had risen, by every infamous compliance, to the position of chief favourite of Bájí Ráo II. This man laboured with success to impress his master with the idea that he could restore the Mahratta power to the state in which it was under the first great Peshwás. His cruelty and violence in the exercise of the office of prime minister, which he soon obtained, were unbounded. Bájí Ráo was induced to open communications with Sindia, Holkár and Raghuji Bhonslé; and his design was to restore the Mahratta confederacy. The province of Gujarát was now much under British influence. The Resident was Colonel Walker, and his measures delivered it from anarchy. There were disputes between Bájí Ráo and the Gaikwár's government, regarding debts due to the Peshwá court; and Gangádhar Sástri was sent to discuss the matter. The Sástri, a Bráhman, was assassinated by Trimbakji's agents, with Bájí Ráo's concurrence, at the sacred shrine of Pandharpur. This outrage filled every mind with horror. Mr. Elphinstone required the punishment of the assassin; and Trimbakji was confined in the fort of Thána, on the island of Salsette. From thence he escaped, through the contrivance of a Mahratta horse-keeper; who, while cleaning his master's horse outside the fort, [illegible] the whole plan of escape to the prisoner within. Trimbakji was now supplied secretly with money by the Peshwá, and proceeded to raise troops and organize an insurrection to drive the British from the country. Mr. Elphinstone, with the utmost forbearance, prudence and firmness, tried to bring Bájí Ráo to a better mind, and to retrace his steps. It was, however, necessary at last to assume a most decided tone. A new treaty was pre-

pared, and Báji was compelled to sign it (1817), circumscribing his power. Ahmadnagar was ceded to the English. Trimbakji was to be given up; but he managed to elude his pursuers.

§ 107. The Marquis of Hastings had succeeded as Governor-General (October 1813); and it became evident that Amír Khán (§ 104) and the Pindáris must be put down. The *Pindáris* were a collection of the lowest freebooters, the very refuse of all the lawless, predatory hordes that infested the Dakhin. They had followed, like obscene beasts of prey, the armies of the early Mahratta chieftains, by whom assignments of land had been made to them on the banks of the Narbaddah.

Their first conspicuous leader was *Kharim Khán*, who had been imprisoned by Sindia in Gwáliár, and was not released till 1810. Another was *Chitu*, who was kept in confinement by Amír Khán till 1816. Armed with Mahratta spears, every 15th man having a matchlock, and about two-fifths well armed and mounted, they sallied forth, plundering, burning villages, torturing the people, committing every imaginable excess. When the Mahratta chieftains ceased to be engaged in endless wars, these Pindáris lost their occupation, as jackals attending those expeditions. They now plundered on their own account, and gradually increased the field of their operations and the daring of their exploits.

§ 108. The beginning of the war in Nepál was unfavourable to the English. [*See* Chap. X., § 54.] This encouraged the Mahrattas to contemplate the renewal of their confederacy. They encouraged the Pindáris and the Pathánsunder Amír Khán in their excesses; but the time had not come for any open hostilities. In March 1816, Raghuji Bhonslé of Barár died. *Parsaji* succeeded in Nágpur; but being idiotic, his cousin, *Appá Saheb* became regent. With him a treaty was made, by which the Nágpur State came fully under the *subsidiary system*. Yet he too was secretly in the conspiracy of which Báji Ráo II. was the head, against the English supremacy.

§ 109. Lord Hastings, in 1817, resolved to put down finally, not only the Pindáris, but all the predatory powers of Central India. This was required by humanity, not less than by policy. The treaties of 1805 had been virtually annulled, by the intrigues of Sindia and Holkár, and by their constant violation of them. The Governor-General's plan was to surround the infested districts with troops, and thus to hem in and destroy the ravagers and their allies.

§ 110. The Governor-General took up his position with the main army near Gwáliár, where Sindia was compelled to sign a treaty, by which he engaged fully to co-operate with the British in restoring peace and order, by the extermination of all the predatory bands; a measure of which he especially was to reap the fruits. Amír Khán now made an agreement by which his Jágír was guaranteed to him, and he agreed to disband his lawless bands. The family still possess Tank. Many other petty chieftains put themselves fully under British protection. Sir John Malcolm was appointed the agent of the Governor-General with

ample political powers in the Dakhin. Him, Báji Ráo deceived by his protestations. Mr. Elphinstone was convinced of his treacherous designs.

§ 111. Now we must relate the first great episode of the Pindári War. The Peshwá was already maturing his plans for an attack on the Residency. Mr. Elphinstone, aware of his duplicity, would give him no pretext for a rupture, by any open preparations, or by an exhibition of distrust. The Peshwá's troops were gathering round and hemming in the British. Mr. Elphinstone from the terrace of the residency could hear the din of their preparations; but with quiet dignity he made only such unostentatious arrangements as the merest prudence demanded. He brought the British troops together to Kharki, four miles from Púna. The Peshwá's prime minister and Commander-in-Chief was Bápu Gokla. When it was evident that the attack was about to begin, Mr. Elphinstone withdrew to Kharki; and a battle ensued (Nov. 5, 1817) between the Mahratta army which consisted of 18,000 horse, 8,000 foot with fourteen guns, and Major Ford's troops, consisting of 2,800 rank and file, of whom 800 were Europeans. The Mahrattas were easily driven off. The Peshwá plundered the residency, and murdered several officers who were seized while travelling.

§ 112. General Smith, who was encamped near the Chándúr hills, now marched on Púna. Báji Ráo fled before him. He occupied the city, and then pursued the Peshwá; who fled to Mahpank (a sacred place near Sátára, at the confluence of the Yena and Krishna), then to Pandharpur, then to the north of Juner, where he fortified himself at Bamanwári, and finally to the south. Then the Rájá of Satára joined the English general.

§ 113. Meanwhile a battalion, consisting of about 500 men belonging to the 1st Regiment, was sent for from Serar by Colonel Barr, who then commanded in Púna. It marched on the 31st December, 1817, attended by 300 irregular horse, all under the command of Captain Francis Staunton. On reaching Koregám (January 1, 1818), they found 25,000 Mahratta horse on the opposite bank of the Bhima. These, with 5,000 of the Peshwá's infantry, attacked the British troops; who were exhausted by a long night march, were without food or water, and compelled to fight under a blazing sun. The conflict raged all day, and at nightfall the Peshwá's army retreated. The Peshwá himself, from a height two miles distant beheld the fight. Captain Staunton lost 175 men in killed and wounded; but the Mahrattas lost about 600 men.

This was the most heroic event of the war: the *famous defence of Koregám.*

§ 114. The Peshwá now fled towards the Carnatic. On the bank of the Gutpurba, he found General Thomas Munro, Commissioner of the Ceded Districts (afterwards Governor of Madras), with troops he had raised on the spot, ready to oppose him. He then fled towards Sholápur. On February 10, 1818,

Sátára was taken. The next day a proclamation was issued, declaring that Báji Ráo and his family were excluded from all share in the government, which was assumed by the Governor-General, reserving a small tract around Sátára for the comfortable and dignified maintenance of the Rájá. Thus fell the house of Báláji Viswanáth, which from 1714 (contemporary with the English House of Brunswick) had in reality swayed the Mahratta sceptre. Báji Ráo, after wandering about with his army, suffering great privations, and looking vainly for help from the Mahratta chiefs, themselves in great straits, surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, who guaranteed him the princely pension of eight lakhs of rupees per annum. Bithaur, near Cawnpur, was assigned as his residence. There he died in January 1851. Trimbakji managed to evade his pursuers, till he was seized by Lieutenant Swanston, and was retained a prisoner, to the period of his death, in the fort of Chanár, in Bengal. Báji Ráo had no sons. He adopted Sirik Dhandu Pánt, commonly called the Náná Saheb.

§ 115. *Appá Saheb* (sometimes called Mudaji Bhonslé:—*see* § 108), regent of Nágpur, procured the murder of Parsaji (though this was not then known), and so succeeded him. He determined to abet the Peshwá in his schemes. Mr. Jenkins was then Resident. Appá Saheb did not show his real colours till November 24, 1817. He was not aware then that the Peshwá had made his attack, and failed. Mr. Jenkins had about 1,400 men fit for duty. Appá Saheb's troops were about 18,000.

§ 116. The residency was at Sítábaldi, a hill to the west of Nágpur. The attack was foiled chiefly by the gallantry of Captain Fitzgerald. It began on the evening of November 26, and was not finally repulsed till about noon the next day.

§ 117. Reinforcements soon arrived. Appá Saheb surrendered. The fort of Nágpur, still held by the Arab mercenaries, was stormed. Appá was reinstated with the most stringent provisions for his fidelity to the British power. He began almost immediately to intrigue again, was arrested by Mr. Jenkins, and sent, by command of the Governor-General, to be imprisoned at Allahábád; but escaped on the road, joined Chitu the Pindári chief, and after many wanderings took refuge with the Síkhs, with whom he lived and died in utter obscurity. A grandson of the late Raghuji Bhonslé was placed on the *Masnad*, assuming his grandfather's name. From this time Nágpur may be considered to be under British government; and under Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, it flourished greatly. Raghuji dying in 1853 without issue, his dominions were annexed. Under successive British Commissioners, the whole district has since attained unprecedented prosperity.

§ 118. We must return from these two episodes, to trace the fortunes of the last Peshwá and of the Nágpur Ráj, to the Pindáris. They were under three leaders, Chitu, Kharim, and Wasil Muhammad. Sir John Malcolm, in concert with the generals of the other divisions, gradually drove them from their haunts, across the Narbaddah. Chitu finally took refuge in Holkár's

camp, near Mahidpur. Tulsí Báí, the regent (§ 103), had at length been compelled by the chiefs around her to join the confederacy against the British, and had marched to that place, where a great and decisive battle was fought. Tulsí Báí was put to death by her troops, because they suspected her of a design to treat with the English.

§ 119. Malhár Ráo Holkár's troops were about 20,000 in number, on the Sipra, a tributary of the Chambal. Sir J. Hislop and Sir John Malcolm crossed the river, attacked the enemy's strong position, carried it, dispersed them, and gained a complete victory, December 21, 1817. At Mandeswar, January 6, 1818, a treaty between the young Malhár Ráo Holkár and the Governor-General was signed. By this treaty he abandoned all authority over the Rájpúts, and placed himself absolutely under British protection, thus securing his territories and his dignity. Daulat Ráo Sindia, overawed by the near approach of Lord Hastings' army, remained quiet; and there is nothing more of importance to record of him.

§ 120. Of the three Pindári leaders, *Kharim Khán* surrendered to Sir J. Malcolm in February 1818; *Wasil Muhammad* gave himself up to Sindia, and subsequently poisoned himself; and *Chitu* only remained. He was driven from one place to another, his followers gradually forsaking him, until he was devoured by a tiger in the jungles near Asirgarh. The fort of Asirgarh itself was taken by General Doveton, April 9, 1819.

§ 121. The conclusion of the Pindári war was marked by a general arrangement with the lesser chiefs whom the Mahrattas had hitherto oppressed, bringing them under British protection. After the surrender of Báji Ráo, the Rájá of Sátára was, with great pomp, restored, and seated on the throne by the British authorities. He immediately issued a proclamation, making over the government to the British Resident. He complained bitterly of Báji Ráo, who among other things had given an order to the governor of the fort of Wassota, where the Rájá and his family were confined, to put them all to death, rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the British. The Rájá's name was Prátáb Singh, then in his 27th year. The territory assigned to him was the tract between the Warna and the Nira, from the base of the Syhadri mountains to Pandharpur.

General Thomas Munro reduced all the country to Sholápur, including Bádámi. The Bombay Government conquered the Concan. Ráigarh, the famous capital of Sivaji, the strongest fort in the east, was taken, May 7. The forts from Púna to Ahmadnagar, and those in the Chándúr range, were taken by Major Eldridge, Colonel McDowell, and Colonel Cunningham. The whole country was now divided among various British officers, who gradually brought it into order. The Bhils of the mountains adjoining Khándesh were reduced to submission by Sir John Malcolm. From that time to this the progress of the Mahratta country has been rapid and unbroken.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

§ 1. Early Portuguese enterprise. § 2. The sea-route between Europe and India discovered by Vasco da Gama. § 3. Internal condition of India. § 4. Gama at Calicut. § 5. Expedition of Cabral. § 6. Second expedition of Gama. § 7. Expedition of Albuquerque. § 8. Almeyda, the first Portuguese Viceroy. § 9. Albuquerque, the second Viceroy. § 10. He largely extends Portuguese power. § 11. Capture of Ormuz and Malacca. § 12. Dismissal and death of Albuquerque. § 13. Capture of Diu. § 14. Siege of Diu. § 15. De Castro, Viceroy. § 16. Combination against the Portuguese. § 17. Decay of Portuguese power.

§ 1. During the Middle Ages, European intercourse with India was mainly carried on by the enterprise of the maritime nations inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean; and latterly chiefly by the Venetians and Genoese, who traded with the ports of Syria and Egypt, whither Indian produce was brought through Persia or by the Red Sea. But during the fifteenth century the Portuguese became great navigators, encouraged by the enthusiasm of Prince Henry, son of King John I. of Portugal, and grandson of John of Gaunt, the English Duke of Lancaster. After the discovery of Madeira in A. D. 1420, and of the Cape de Verd islands in A. D. 1460, the great object the Portuguese navigators had in view was to complete the circuit of Africa. This grand design they accomplished, and in doing so changed the whole face of European affairs.

§ 2. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz, an experienced and enterprising navigator, passed the most southerly point of Africa, naming it the Cape of Tempests; but King John II., who had far more comprehensive views, called it the Cape of Good Hope. A new route of navigation to the East was thus discovered. In 1497 Vasco da Gama was sent out by King Emmanuel, the enlightened patron of sea-adventure. He passed the southern extremity of the mighty continent, without encountering any storms or dangers; and skirting the eastern coast of Africa, procured a pilot at Melinda, steered boldly across the Indian Ocean, and cast anchor off Calicut, on the 11th of May 1498. Vasco da Gama now knew that his name would rank with that of Columbus; and his

discovery had the effect of entirely altering the route of the traffic between Europe and India, and of placing the trade entirely in the hands of the Portuguese.

§ 3. The Emperor reigning in Dehli at that time was Sikandar, the second of the house of Lodí. [Chap. II., § 78]. A. D. 1488—1517.

The Bahmani dynasty then ruling in the Dakhin was under the weak Mahmúd II. falling to pieces. [Chap. IV., § 10].

The Bíjápur kingdom, established A. D. 1489, by Yúsuf Adil Sháh, possessed the Concan, between the Western Ghát and the coast, from Goa to Bombay. [Chap. IV., § 12].

South of Goa the country was under petty Rájás. The most considerable of these was the Tamurin or Zamorin of Calicat. [Chap. I., § 94].

Bábar was then engaged in his arduous struggles west of the Indus. [Chap. III., § 3].

§ 4. The Rájá of Calicat was a Hindú. The port was open to merchants of every nation; but the trade was in the hands of the Muhammadans (or Moors) from Arabia, Egypt, and the eastern coast of Africa. Muhammadanism had made great progress in Malabar owing to the efforts of the Arabian traders. Of these converts the Mapillas (*Moplas*) are the descendants. The Muhammadan traders, who trafficked in every great port of India, Africa, and the Mediterranean, were the rivals and bitter enemies of the Portuguese; and often combined with their fellow Muhammadans in India.

Da Gama landed with great pomp, and had an interview with the Rájá, who received him with kindness; which, however, was soon turned into suspicion by the artifices of the Moors. Finding his armament insufficient, he returned to Portugal, where he arrived in August 1499.

§ 5. The next expedition, under *Alvarez Cabral*, sailed in A. D. 1500. Cabral, in sailing southward through the Atlantic, was carried too far towards the west; a fortunate accident, for he thus discovered the fertile, finely-wooded coast of Brazil, which has ever since been in the hands of Portuguese princes. Cabral arrived at Calicat in September 1500. He was at first received with kindness, but jealousies soon arose. He captured a ship belonging to the Moors; who in revenge attacked the factory and massacred fifty of the Portuguese. Cabral revenged himself by burning the Moorish ships and bombarding the town; after which he withdrew to Cochin, a city second at that time to Calicat only. Here he was well received, as at Cannanor also. The Rájás of these places were at enmity with their nominal superior the *Zamorin*. Cabral returned to Lisbon, July 31, 1501; where the story of his disasters excited strong interest.

§ 6. Vasco da Gama was soon at the head of a new expedition, bent on revenging the supposed wrongs of Cabral, and on carrying things with a still higher hand. He tarnished the lustre of his name by seizing a Moorish ship, and burning it with

all its crew. Anchoring off Calicat he demanded redress for the injuries sustained by Cabral; and when some delay occurred, collected fifty natives from different captured ships, cut their throats, sending their hands and feet on shore to the Zamorin. After this the natives contrived to get him into their power, but he escaped and set sail for Portugal. This expedition seems to have been entirely fruitless.

§ 7. The next expedition, in 1504, was under the two brothers Alphonso and Francisco Albuquerque, and Saldanha. At this period the Zamorin, enraged at the countenance afforded to the foreigners by the Rájá of Cochin, had attacked and driven him from his capital to the island of Vipeen, where he was rescued by Alphonso Albuquerque. After an unsuccessful attempt to arrange matters with the Zamorin, the Albuquerques returned to Europe, leaving the fleet in the hand of Duarte Pacheco. The latter was a man of rare valour, a most able commander, and far-sighted politician. His great exploit was the defence of Cochin, and the signal defeat of the formidable armaments of the Zamorin. No sooner had the Albuquerques departed than the Zamorin again attacked Cochin with an overwhelming force. Pacheco took the command of the Cochin forces, consisting of a few hundreds of native soldiers and 400 Portuguese. With these he defeated an army of 50,000 men, trained by some Milanese deserters, and aided by a fleet of 160 vessels. Not one of the defenders fell. A second attack and a third were similarly repulsed, with great slaughter; and Pacheco had at length the satisfaction of seeing the Zamorin's armament return to Calicat utterly defeated. *Lope Soarez* soon superseded Pacheco, who had spent his fortune in his country's service. Soarez took Cranganor; but by his overbearing temper he destroyed the prospect of peace with the Zamorin, and returned to Europe.

§ 8. Francisco Almeyda, the first Portuguese *Viceroy of India*, was sent out in A. D. 1505.

He received an embassy from Vijayanagar (or Narsinga) bringing splendid presents, and offering the Rájá's daughter in marriage to Prince John, son of King Emmanuel. During Almeyda's time a dreadful tragedy took place at Quilon (or *Kallom*), where a Portuguese factor interfered with the Moors, who retaliated by burning a church with thirteen men in it. This he avenged by burning their fleet.

This year the Mamlúk Sultán of Egypt, Khansú Ghori, fitted out a fleet to contest with the Portuguese the empire of the Arabian Sea; he was instigated by the Venetians, who were jealous of the monopoly of Indian productions now possessed by Portugal. A terrible naval battle was fought off Chaul, which lasted two days. The Egyptians were aided by the King of Gujarát, Mahmúd Bígara, who sent a fleet under a skilful admiral. Mahmúd had fitted out his fleet originally to destroy pirates; but he now zealously aided the Sultán. The Musalmán fleet on this occasion gained an advantage. The death of Almeyda's

heroic son, and the humanity and courtesy of Aiaz, the Gujarát admiral, are especially to be noted in this affair. Young Lorenzo Almeyda was wounded. The combined fleets of the Musalmáns were overwhelmingly superior to his own, and his ship had got ashore; yet he made heroic efforts to maintain the fight till the advancing tide should float his ship. He kept the whole squadron of the enemy at bay, and when his thigh was broken by a shot, caused himself to be lashed to the mast, whence he cheered on his men, till he fell mortally wounded by a ball in the breast. Aiaz treated the survivors tenderly, and wrote a letter of condolence to Almeyda.

§ 9. Meanwhile (in 1508) Alphonso Albuquerque landed the second time in India, bringing a commission to supersede Almeyda. Albuquerque is therefore the *second Viceroy*, or Governor General of Portuguese India. Almeyda, refusing to yield to him, sailed on an expedition to attack the Musalmán fleet, and to avenge the death of his son. He attacked Dábul on his way, and burnt the city, with the most dreadful and atrocious cruelty. He then sailed to the Gulf of Kambáy, where he met the combined fleets off Diu. He was completely successful, but stained his victory with the blood of his prisoners. Portugal remained supreme in the Arabian Gulf. On his return to Cochin, he was with difficulty persuaded to resign his office to Albuquerque, and set sail for Portugal. On the way home, he landed on the African coast, and fell in a miserable scuffle with a band of Hottentots. Thus ignobly perished (in 1509) the first Portuguese Viceroy.

§ 10. Albuquerque, his successor, from the first burned with ambition to reduce all India beneath the sway of Portugal. The anarchy which prevailed throughout the land at the time favoured his design. The Muhammadan Empire north of the Narbaddah was in that state of disorganization which soon after (1526) invited Bábar to its conquest; and the Bahmini Dakhin kingdom was in course of dismemberment by its Viceroys.

Albuquerque nearly lost his life in an abortive attack on Calicut. His next project was to seize Goa, which is situated on an island on the west coast, and then belonged to Bíjápur. He took possession of it easily; but was soon driven out by Yúsuf Adil Shah in person. A second attempt was successful after a protracted contest. He had thus got, what he justly considered to be essential to Portuguese supremacy in the East, a spacious harbour and a considerable city. He immediately sent embassies to the different native courts, and received their envoys with great splendour. He encouraged intermarriages between his officers and respectable native families; and endeavoured in every way to effect a permanent settlement in the country.

§ 11. *Ormuz*, an island which commands the entrance to the Persian Gulf, had been nearly taken by Albuquerque on his way out. He now fitted out a splendid expedition, which easily wrested it from its petty ruler, and this place soon became the

centre of the trade between India, Persia, and Western Asia. A splendid city rose on this uninviting spot, A. D. 1510. An expedition planned by him against *Aden* failed. Having secured such an admirable emporium as Ormuz in the Arabian Gulf, he now, with far-seeing wisdom, resolved to establish a city in the Eastern Archipelago, which should command the trade between India, China, and the vast islands of the Eastern seas. He fixed upon *Malacca*, and not without difficulty captured it from its Malay founders in 1511. Here too a splendid city speedily rose. He strove here, as everywhere else, to join the natives and Portuguese by the bond of a common interest, treating them as friends and equals. Albuquerque also sent embassies to Siam, Java, and Sumatra.

§ 12. But Albuquerque was growing old; and, strange to say, was superseded by Lope Soarez [*see* § 7], *the third Portuguese Viceroy*. Albuquerque, dismissed without a reason, and without anything that might have softened the blow, died broken-hearted. In a ship, near Goa, he breathed his last, tranquil at length as death drew near, and was buried on shore (A. D. 1515). A splendid monument still attests his merits. He was violent in some of his actions; yet his general administration led to such splendid results, and his personal qualities were of so high an order, that his countrymen unanimously style him, "the Great."

The Portuguese Empire, if so it can be called, was now at its zenith of glory. A few additions were made afterwards, and during the reigns of Emmanuel and his son John III. (1498—1557) they acquired many settlements, some of which still belong to Portugal. Their possessions were a few stations on the eastern coast of Africa, the island of Ormuz, Diu in Gujarát, Goa and some lesser places on the west coast of India, several settlements in Ceylon, a few inconsiderable stations on the Coromandel coast, Malacca on the Malayan peninsula, and some factories on the Malacca islands. Their possessions thus extended over 12,000 miles of coast. Over this immense area they had about thirty factories in the most favourable positions.

§ 13. The circumstances under which *Diu* became a Portuguese city (1534) are remarkable. Bahádúr Sháh was King of Gujarát from A. D. 1526. The troubles of the times enabled the Viceroys of Gujarát to maintain, in general, their independence (Chap. II., § 91); but Humáyún (1531) made an expedition against Bahádúr, which was nearly successful. Then Bassein was taken (1534). This was the time chosen by Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese Viceroy, to attack Diu. The attack was unsuccessful; but Bahádúr entered into negotiations with the Portuguese, which resulted in their occupation of Diu and the erection of a fort. There was, however, much jealousy on both sides. Bahádúr one day went on board the ship where the Viceroy was sick, or pretended to be so; and an inexplicable tumult arose, in which Bahádúr was killed and many others, both natives and Portuguese.

About the same time they took Damán, These two small places still remain under the power of Portugal.

§ 14. The year 1538 is memorable for the *siege of Diu* by the Gujarát forces, aided by the Pasha of Egypt, under orders from his superior, Sulaimán the Magnificent, the Ottoman Sultán of Constantinople. Gracia de Noronha was now Viceroy. But to the brave *Silveira* must be ascribed the glory of the gallant defence. The besiegers did not desist from the attempt till the Portuguese, who had fought with unparalleled determination, were reduced to 40 persons.

§ 15. In 1545, Juan De Castro, one of the most celebrated of the Portuguese Viceroys, arrived, and found the port of Diu hard pressed. He relieved it, took possession of the native city, and gave it up to indiscriminate plunder and massacre. He then made a triumphal entry into Goa, with the royal standard of the Gujarát king dragged in the dust. This great Viceroy was disinterested, brave, and successful; but his cruelties tarnished his fame, and prepared the way for the downfall of the Portuguese power in India. In fact, Indian history is full of accounts of expeditions in which the coast was ravaged, and villages burnt and plundered by the Portuguese.

§ 16. In 1571, a combination was formed by Alí Adil Sháh of Bíjápur, Murtazá Nizám Sháh of Ahmadnagar, and the Zamorin, to drive the Portuguese out of India. Goa was besieged by a mighty host under Adil Sháh, and Chaul by another at the same time under Murtazá. But the valour of the Portuguese, and the skill of their Viceroy, Luis de Ataide, prevailed, and after a ten months' siege, Goa was saved. The other attacks too were repulsed.

The Portuguese settlements in India were now divided into three distinct Governments,—Ceylon, Goa, and Malacca. But the sure progress of decay was felt in all.

§ 17. From 1580 to 1640, Portugal was under the sway of Spain; and during that period, though isolated acts of heroism were occasionally performed, the trade of Portugal declined, her colonies languished, and her maritime sceptre gradually passed into the hands of the Dutch. We find the degenerate successors of Albuquerque trembling before Sivaji in 1662, paying tribute to the Mahrattas, although at times valiantly opposing them, and, alas, surpassing them in barbarity.

In 1739 [*see* Chap. V, § 31], the Mahrattas took Bassein after a terrible siege. This was a great triumph to that rising power.

Sad is the record of the wresting from Portugal of her eastern possessions one by one. In 1607, the Moluccas were seized by the Dutch. In 1622, Persia seized upon Ormuz; and the Imám of Muscat gradually stripped them of most of their possessions on the east coast of Africa. In 1640, Malacca was occupied by the Dutch; and in 1656, they were driven from Ceylon by the same indefatigable enemy. The present possessions of Portugal in India are *Goa*, *Damán*, and *Diu*, with a population of about 500,000. [*See* Introduction, § 14].

CHAPTER VII.

EUROPEAN EAST INDIA COMPANIES TO A. D. 1744.

PART I. THE DUTCH AND DANISH SETTLEMENTS.

§ 1. Early European enterprise. § 2. The Dutch East India Company. § 3. The Danes in India.

§ 1. In ancient times each empire as it rose, aimed at the conquest of India as its crowning triumph. In the middle ages, the trades with India raised the imperial republics of Venice and Genoa to a surprising pitch of greatness. In modern times, the maritime powers of Europe have vied with one another in their efforts to obtain a monopoly of the eastern trade. The desire to find a western route to India led Columbus to the discovery of America. The determination to find a route by sea to India led to those expeditions which, in A. D. 1498, were, as we have seen, crowned with success when Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut. The Portuguese showed Europe the way to the East. The record of their successes and failures we have given in Chap. VI. They strove in vain to maintain an exclusive right to the navigation of the Eastern seas. Their monopoly was soon broken. They were followed in succession by the Dutch (A. D. 1594), by the English (A. D. 1600), by the French (A. D. 1668), and by the Danes (A. D. 1616). The Dutch had no sooner freed themselves from the tyranny of Spain (1609) than they turned their attention to the eastern trade. They endeavoured, first of all, to find a northern route by sea to India and China. This failing, they sent out four ships under a man called Houtman, who had obtained some knowledge of the east (A.D. 1594). The destination of these and of several succeeding expeditions was the Eastern Archipelago, where they carried on a thriving trade in spices. They soon began to try to supplant the Portuguese, and easily expelled them from the Moluccas. This led to open war between the two nations; and in 1605 the Dutch expelled the Portuguese from Amboyna and Tidor, and fully established their supremacy in the eastern seas.

§ 2. In 1656, the Dutch drove their rivals from Ceylon, where they themselves established large and prosperous factories. They

at length founded the Colony of Batavia, on the north-west coast of Java, which is still the capital of the Dutch settlements in the East. In 1640, they drove the Portuguese from Malacca; and now their only rivals in the eastern seas and islands were the English. They very soon lost their supremacy. Their chief settlements in India were at Nágapatam (taken from Portugal, 1660), Sadras, Palikat, and Bimlipatam. These have all fallen into the hands of the British. [1783.]

§ 3. The Government of Denmark has only held two settlements in India, at *Tranquebar* (bought from the Rájá of Tanjor, A. D. 1616) and at *Serampor* or Srírámpur on the Hugli. These were sold to the English in A. D. 1845.

PART II. THE EARLY ENGLISH IN INDIA.

§ 4. Early English expeditions. § 5. The English East-India Company. § 6. Hawkins and Middleton. § 7. Sir Thomas Roe. § 8. Mr. Boughton. § 9. Madras founded. § 10. Siege of Súrat. § 11. Bombay obtained from the Portuguese. § 12. The English in Bengal. § 13. The Presidencies. § 14. Further progress in Bengal.

§ 4. The example of the Portuguese and Dutch was not lost upon the English. One of the first Englishmen who visited India, was a man of the name of Stevens, who went to Goa. The narrative of his travels excited immense interest in England. Then came the travels of Storey, Newberry, Leedes, and Fitch. They carried a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar.

§ 5. Accordingly, in A. D. 1600, the most extraordinary chartered body that was ever formed, the British East-India Company, was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth. At the time no great enthusiasm was shown. The second Company was formed in A. D. 1698; and the two were united by King William III.

§ 6. Meanwhile an expedition under Captain Hawkins arrived in Súrat in 1608, with letters to Jahángír from James I., and from the East India Company. Hawkins delivered his letters in person, was honourably received, and remained at Agrah for three years. Sir H. Middleton arrived at Súrat in 1609. Here the Company's first factory was established in 1611.

Jahángír, in the year of his marriage with Núr Jahán, gave permission to the English to establish four factories in his dominions. This farmán was signed in 1613.

§ 7. The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (in 1615) was of more importance. He was received with great kindness, and had ample opportunities of seeing the Emperor's court and capital. General permission to trade throughout the empire was now granted.

New Dehli was then in course of erection, and the magnificent buildings were beheld by the English visitors in their foundation and growth. [Chap. III., § 62.]. In 1616, the Company had factories at Súrat, Calicut, and Masulipatam. They had also many settlements in the Eastern Archipelago, including one at Bantam in Java; and to this the Indian settlements were subordinate.

§ 8. The year 1624 is rendered remarkable by the concession to the Company of the power to punish their servants, even capitally. They had thus become rulers. This is looked upon as an era in their history. This year permission was given to the English to trade with Bengal, but they were restricted to the one port of Pippli near Midnapur.

During the reign of Sháh Jahán (in 1636), Mr. Boughton, an English Surgeon, was sent, according to the Emperor's request, to attend his sick daughter; and succeeding in curing her, he obtained from the Emperor's gratitude extensive privileges for his countrymen.

§ 9. In 1639, Fort St. George, or Madras, was founded by Mr. Francis Day. The Coromandel coast was, in fact, found more convenient for the purchase of "piece goods," muslins from Dacca, and cotton goods from the Dakhin. Madras was fortified at the command of Charles I. He blamed the Company for "*neglecting to establish fortified factories, where the king's subjects could reside with safety.*"

In 1653, Madras was made a separate Presidency.

In 1661, Charles II. issued a new Charter

§ 10. The military reputation of the English was extended by the defence of Súrat by Sir G. Oxenden (Governor of Bombay 1665-7), when attacked by Sivaji in 1664. [Chap. V., § 10]. All fled but the English. They resisted the invader, and protected the inhabitants. Aurangzeb testified his admiration and gratitude [1667] by remitting certain duties and charges payable by them to the imperial treasury.

§ 11. In 1668, Bombay, which had been given as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the queen of Charles II., was made over to the Company, and made the chief Presidency in India. It was made the chief seat of British Government in 1683. As early as 1664 they traded with Malabar, and in 1708 obtained a grant of Tellicheri. It was in 1688 that the "tea trade" was first heard of.

§ 12. In 1696, the villages of Chattanatti, Calcutta, and Govindpur were purchased from Azam, grandson of Aurangzeb. A fort was ordered to be built, and called Fort William in honour of King William III. The History of Calcutta to 1756 is little else than a record of the efforts of the British merchants to resist the exactions of the Nawáb of Murshidábád. In 1715 a deputation was sent to the Emperor Farrukh Siyar to secure a greater degree of protection from the native powers [*see* Chap. III., § 119]. They were successful, and Calcutta was thereupon declared a separate Presidency.

§ 13. The use of the term *Presidency* requires explanation. The establishment at each principal seat of trade consisted of merchants, senior and junior, who conducted the trade; factors, who ordered goods, inspected them, and despatched them; and writers, who were the clerks and book-keepers. A writer after five years became a factor, after three years more a senior merchant. From these last the Members of Council were chosen, and one of them was selected as President of the factory.

§ 14. The Nawáb of Bengal, Jáfar Khán, died in 1725, and was succeeded by his son Shujá-ud-dín Khán. One of his *Umarás* was the adventurer Alívardi Khán. In 1742 the Mahrattas attacked Bengal, demanding *Chauth*. It was then the Mahratta ditch was dug to afford protection against a repetition of the attack. For the further History of the British Settlements in Bengal, see Chap. IX.

PART III. THE FRENCH IN INDIA.

§ 15. Caron and the French East India Company. § 16. Pondicherry founded by Martin. § 17. Attacked by the Dutch. § 18. Chandernagar and Mahé taken. § 19. Dupleix in Chandernagar. § 20. Dumas. § 21. Chandá Saheb. § 22. Kárikal taken. § 23. The Mahrattas. § 24. Dupleix Governor-General. § 25. La Bourdonnais. § 26. Summary of affairs in the Dakhin.

§ 15. Various French East India Companies were formed and expeditions made by that nation, from A. D. 1604. But the celebrated Colbert has the merit of establishing the Company on a firm footing, in 1664; Louis XIV. declaring that trade to *India* was not beneath the dignity of a noble. This company was dissolved in 1769. Their first settlement in India was at Súrat, where both the English and the Dutch had flourishing factories. The leader was François Caron.

§ 16. In 1674 they bought a piece of land from the Bíjápur Government, on which they erected the city called now Pondicherry (*Puthu-cheri*) François Martin, an honoured name in French History, was its founder. His first great danger was from Sivaji, who during his great expedition to the Carnatic threatened Pondicherry, but was conciliated by the judicious measures of the French Governor.

§ 17. His next enemies were the Dutch, who in 1693 attacked and took the town. In connection with this, the reply of Rám Ráj [Chap. V.] to the Dutch, who offered to buy Pondicherry, deserves to be remembered. "The French," said he, "fairly purchased it, and paid a valuable consideration for it and all the money in the world would never tempt me to dislodge them." But poor Rám Ráj was soon cooped up in Ginjí, and the Mughuls received the Dutch bribe, and aided them

in their attack. In 1697, the peace of Ryswick was signed. Pondicherry was restored, and Martin returned in triumph, to enlarge and fortify it, and to raise it by skilful policy, good government, and fair dealing, to the rank of a great commercial city. He was an able man, and a magnanimous and disinterested patriot. Mr. Thomas Pitt, grandfather of the Earl of Chatham, was then Governor of Madras. [1698—1700].

§ 18. In 1688, the French obtained from Aurangzeb a settlement at Chandernagar on the Hugli. In 1725, Mahé was added to the French possessions. It was taken chiefly by the daring and ingenuity of a young French naval officer, *Bertrand François Mahé de la Bourdonnais.*

§ 19. In 1731, Joseph François Dupleix was appointed Director of Chandernagar, which he raised from a well-nigh deserted port to a flourishing emporium. He also amassed by trade, then permitted to the company's servants, a vast fortune. There he remained till 1741.

§ 20. Meanwhile in the Isle of France and in Bourbon, a great colony had been founded. The French governor of these islands, M. Dumas, in 1735, became Governor-General of the French possessions in India, which position he filled till succeeded by Dupleix in 1741. Dumas was worthy of his predecessor Martin. In his time began that system of interference with the affairs of the Hindú princes which has led to such mighty results.

In 1710, Sa'ádat-ullah Khán was appointed Nawáb of the Carnatic. [Chap. III., § 130]. He was the first who attempted to make the office hereditary. In 1733, he died at his capital Vellor, and his nephew Dost Alí succeeded him. He relied greatly on the French, as the only European nation whose position at that time commanded respect. By his influence the right of coining was conceded to the French by Muhammad Sháh, the Emperor of Dehli. (1719—1748).

Meanwhile it must be remembered that Nizám-ul-Mulk was Viceroy of the Dakhin, and Báji Ráo the great Peshwá of the Mahrattas.

§ 21. The most prominent person in the Carnatic, however, at that time was a son-in-law of Dost Alí, whose name was Chandá Saheb, who assumed the position of a free lance, and who was enthusiastically devoted to the French, by whom he was always supported. In 1736, Chandá Saheb made himself master of Trichinápalli by treachery. The Rájá of that place died without heirs, and a dispute arising, the widow applied to Dost Alí, Nawáb of Arcot, for assistance. He sent Chandá Saheb, who entered the city, after taking an oath to defend the Rání; but immediately imprisoned her, and assumed the government. In the very *choultry* where he swore the false oath, he was murdered sixteen years after!

§ 22. Another affair in which Chandá Saheb was concerned, led to important results for the French. The kingdom of Tan-

jor was held by a relative of the great Sivaji, who was about this time dispossessed by a cousin. The expelled king offered Dumas the town of Kárikal and some adjoining villages as the price of his restoration. Meanwhile, however, he regained his kingdom without French aid. Dumas was disappointed. Chandá Saheb however stepped in, offered Dumas to conquer the coveted villages from Sáhuji with whom he was at war, and to make them over to the French. This he did; and from that date (1739), Kárikal and the neighbouring villages have belonged to France.

§ 23. Meanwhile the Mahrattas, jealous of these Muhammadan conquests, advanced with a large army into the Carnatic, under Raghuji Bhonslé [Chap. V., § 33] and Morári Ráo. Dost Alí met them near Ambúr,* at the Damalcheri pass (about 120 miles north-west of Madras), but was there defeated and slain (1740). The widow of Dost Alí and the wife and son of Chandá Saheb found a refuge in Pondicherry,

The Mahrattas made an agreement with Safdar Alí, by which he was recognized as Nawáb of Arcot, paying a large tribute, and assisting the Mahrattas to expel his ambitious brother-in-law, Chandá Saheb, from Trichinápalli. M. Dumas now showed his firmness and ability. Threatened by Raghuji with destruction, if he did not consent to surrender the fugitives, he replied that "all the French in India would die first." Meanwhile he put Pondicherry into a state of preparation for a siege. Safdar Alí and Chandá Saheb met in Pondicherry, whence the former departed to Arcot, where he was soon assassinated, and Chandá Saheb to Trichinápalli, where his well-merited punishment was to overtake him. The Mahrattas lost no time in investing Trichinápalli, took Chandá Saheb prisoner (March 1741), and conveyed him to Sátára, where he languished seven years in prison. There he formed a romantic friendship with Muzaffar Jang [Chap. VIII., § 13], grandson of Nizám-ul-Mulk. They were both destined to play an important part in the struggles between the French and English, to have a temporary triumph, and to perish. Raghuji still threatened Pondicherry; but awed by the firm attitude of M. Dumas, and bribed by a present of French liqueurs, eventually left him unmolested. This brave resistance to the Mahrattas was M. Dumas' last act; and amid the praises of all South India, with the thanks of the aged Nizám-ul-Mulk, of Safdar Alí, and of the emperor himself, who even conferred on him the title of Nawáb, he resigned his office to M. Dupleix.

§ 24. Dupleix immediately assumed the state of a Nawáb, proceeded to Chandernagar for installation, and used every effort to strengthen his position. The war of the Austrian Succession now broke out in Europe, lasting from 1740 to the

* *Ambúr* is 50 miles west of Arcot, and 30 miles south of Damalcheri.

peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. This war had been long expected, and Dupleix had prepared to strike the blow which should expel the English for ever from India. He had already conceived the idea of founding a *French Empire in India*.

§ 25. Meanwhile a worthy coadjutor of Dupleix, who was afterwards to become his rival and enemy, was ready to join him at this eventful period. This was La Bourdonnais. Mr. Morse was then Governor of Madras (1744—1749); and a squadron of English ships was cruising in the Indian seas, with the design of ruining the French trade. La Bourdonnais was at that time Governor of the Isle of France (or Mauritius), and of Bourbon; which, by his skill, energy, and indomitable perseverance, he had brought into a most satisfactory state. By the most wonderful efforts he contrived to equip and man a squadron of ships; and in spite of opposition at home, and tempests at sea, he arrived off Nágapatam in 1746, and engaged the English squadron, which unaccountably avoided a general engagement, and put into Trinconmalee.

§ 26. Madras was thus left exposed (July 1746). A French fleet was triumphant in the Madras seas. Dupleix and La Bourdonnais in Pondicherry, and Governor Morse in Madras, are the antagonists. The struggle (which lasted fifteen years) must be detailed in the next chapter.

It is necessary here to glance at the history of the Dakhin and the Carnatic, from 1741 to 1746. In 1742, Safdar Alí was assassinated by his brother-in-law, Murtazá Alí. His family and treasures were now put under the care of the English. His son succeeded; but, as he was an infant, all was anarchy in the province; and he too was assassinated in 1743. Now Nizám-ul-Mulk, Viceroy or Súbahdár of the Dakhin in name, but really independent, thought it time to come and claim arrears of tribute long due. After reducing all to order, he left Anwar-ud-dín, a veteran officer, to guard the infant Nawáb (1743), who was assassinated the same year. Anwar-ud-dín was now appointed Nawáb; and the first use he made of his power was to shield the French from the attacks of the English. But the time soon came, as we shall see, when the English needed the friendly intervention of the Nawáb on their own behalf. Chandá Saheb, it will be remembered, was still in his Mahratta prison, chafing at the thought that the prize he had coveted so eagerly, had been grasped by another, while he was a powerless captive.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RIVALRIES AND WARS OF THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANIES.

FROM A. D. 1746, TO THE SURRENDER OF PONDICHERRY TO THE ENGLISH, A.D. 1761.

PART I. TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. A. D. 1746—1748.

§ 1. Dupleix and La Bourdonnais. § 2. Madras captured by the French. § 3. End of La Bourdonnais. § 4. Defeat of Anwar-ud-dín. § 5. Paradis, Governor of Madras. § 6. Defence of Cuddalor. § 7. Siege of Pondicherry. § 8. Triumph of Dupleix. § 9. State of India in 1748.

§ 1. The period from 1744 to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was an eventful one for India. The two greatest nations of Europe are seen beginning to struggle upon Indian ground for supremacy.

La Bourdonnais, after the departure of the English fleet, landed in Pondicherry, where he and Dupleix met (8th July 1746). His words were:—"We ought to regard one another as equally interested in the progress of events, and to work in concert. For my part, Sir, I devote myself to you beforehand, and swear to you a perfect confidence." Yet the disunion of these two, at last, ruined their cause. With it we may contrast the generous conduct of Lawrence and Clive. It must be noted that Dupleix was a genius, a man of lofty and chivalrous mind, a great statesman, full of the most brilliant conceptions, but no warrior; while La Bourdonnais was a soldier, ardent and impetuous, but not possessed of the transcendent abilities of Dupleix. The latter too in India was supreme, though at sea the former was independent.

§ 2. After some delays, by no means creditable to La Bourdonnais, Dupleix prevailed upon him to advance to attack Madras. Governor Morse in vain prayed Anwar-ud-dín, the Nawáb of the Carnatic, to interfere, as he had formerly done in behalf of the French. He had the mortification too to hear that the English fleet had actually sailed for Bengal. La Bourdonnais

had 4,000 men, of whom 400 were sepoys, 400 Africans, and the remainder Europeans. The English garrison consisted of 300 or 400 men, and the fortifications were of the slightest description. On 21st September 1746, Governor Morse was compelled to capitulate. The whole of the English were to be prisoners of war; while the town and all in it with its dependencies were made over to the French. Conditions of ransom were to be settled afterwards. The French did not lose a man in the siege; the English only five.

§ 3. La Bourdonnais, influenced by a bribe of 100,000 pagodas, agreed to allow the English to ransom the city for 4 lakhs and 40,000 rupees. To this Dupleix refused his consent. His wish was to drive the English out of India; and, if the conquest of Madras had been followed up, this could have been effected. A storm meanwhile coming on, shattered the French fleet; and La Bourdonnais, hastily signing the treaty, sailed away (29th October), having spent about four months on the Indian coast. He thus threw away the opportunity of completely crushing the enemies of his country, and of gaining for himself undying fame. He returned to France, and was thrown into the Bastille, where he remained three years Though acquitted, he died of a broken heart in 1753. We may lament his fate; but it was hardly undeserved.

§ 4. Anwar-ud-dín had been no unconcerned spectator of the capture of Madras. Jealous of French aggrandizement, though inclined to favour them, he sent a messenger to Dupleix commanding the French to desist, and threatening to interfere with an armed force. Dupleix unhesitatingly replied that he was only besieging it for the Nawáb, to whom he would surrender it when taken. But when five weeks had passed, and the French flag still floated over the ramparts of Fort St. George, Anwar sent an army to enforce his claims. Dupleix determined not to surrender it till he had destroyed the fort, and gave orders to the French officer in command to hold his ground against the Nawáb's army. The result was a battle. M. Paradis, by no means the least of the remarkable Frenchmen who distinguished themselves in India, with 230 Europeans and 700 native sepoys, put to utter rout the Nawáb's army of ten thousand men, under his son Máphuz Khán. This action made Dupleix for a time the Nawáb's master.

§ 5. Dupleix now utterly disavowed the treaty made by La Bourdonnais; and appointed Paradis Governor of Madras. The English prisoners were sent to Pondicherry. Some escaped to Fort St. David, a fortified town twelve miles south of Pondicherry, bought by the English in 1691, and now become the chief place on the Coromandel Coast occupied by the British. The next thing of course was for the French to attack Fort St. David. The attack failed, and was not resumed when the opportunity presented itself. Meanwhile, Admiral Griffin appeared on the coast, threatening Pondicherry; and the English were saved.

§ 6. Dupleix managed, in the interval, to make peace with the Nawáb; whose assistance did not, however, materially benefit him; and who, when the French cause seemed to be desperate, did not hesitate to forsake their alliance for that of the English. We cannot give the details of the defence of Cuddalor, attacked by Dupleix, in which the skill of the veteran Major Stringer Lawrence, who had recently arrived to command the English forces in India, was conspicuous.

§ 7. Two miles from Pondicherry is a small place called Arankúpam. This place, fortified by the skill of Paradis, and defended by Law, was attacked by the English; who were at first repulsed, and Lawrence was taken prisoner. In the end, the French were compelled to abandon it and retire to Pondicherry, where they were now closely besieged. Admiral Boscawen, grand-nephew of the great Marlborough, was Commander-in-Chief of the English forces, both naval and military; but the wonderful qualities of Dupleix enabled him for five weeks to baffle every effort of the English leader, who was inexperienced in military operations. Paradis fell early in the siege. On Dupleix all depended: glorious and successful was his defence.

It was here that young Clive first gave indications of that wonderful military genius, to which British India owes so much.

§ 8. Dupleix had saved for the time his country's cause, and far and wide did he cause the note of triumph to be sounded; but the news of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle soon arrived. Madras was to be restored to its English masters. All things were to revert to the position in which they were before the breaking out of the war. Bitter was the mortification of Dupleix; but his genius soon devised other methods for carrying out his cherished plan of expelling the hated English, and founding a French empire in India.

§ 9. Let us now take a survey of the state of affairs in India, (in 1748), at the time of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

(1). The 12th Mughul Emperor *Muhammad Shâh*, the last who possessed even the semblance of power, died in April 1748 [*see* Chap. III, § 138]. The puppet emperor, who succeeded him, was the victim of the Mahrattas and of his Viceroy. From this time there was no real emperor of Dehli.

(2). *Sáhu*, the grandson of Sivaji, died also in 1748 [*see* Chap. V., § 35]; and under the third Peshwá, Báláji Ráo, now really supreme, the Mahratta power was attaining its greatest extent of dominion.

(4). *Nizám-ul-mulk* died in June 1748, aged 104 years [*see* Chap. III., § 134]. The dignity of Viceroy, or Súbahdár of the Dakhin, having become hereditary in his family, this portion of the empire may now be considered to have been finally rent from it.

We shall see that the struggles for the succession between his sons led to the most momentous results.

(5). *Chandá Saheb* was liberated the same year; and came down to wrest, if he could, the Nawábship of Arcot from Anwar-ud-dín.

(6). *La Bourdonnais* was in the Bastille. *Dupleix*, baffled and disappointed, but, in the eyes of all the native powers, covered with glory, was devising new schemes for the aggrandizement of France.

(7). *Clive* was an ensign (Born in 1725; came to India, 1743). The English, taught by the example of the French, were beginning to train sepoys. *Warren Hastings*, the future Governor-General (born 1732), came to India in 1750. The veteran Major Lawrence (Governor of Madras in 1749) sailed for England in 1750; to return (in 1752), and with the young hero, Clive, to do great things.

(8). In Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa, *Alívardi Khán* had made good his position; and was ruling with a degree of talent and justice that reconciled the people to his usurpation.

(9). Oudh was in the power of Sa'ádat Khán's nephew *Safdar Jang* [Chap. III., § 130], who was independent, though he condescended to call himself Vazír of the Empire.

(10). In Rohilkhand the Afgháns had become virtually independent.

(11). In Mysor, *Haidar* was now a rising chief. His son Tippú was born in 1750 [Chap. XII., § 11].

PART II. FROM THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE TO THE DEFENCE OF ARCOT. A. D. 1740—1751.

§ 10. English Interference in Tanjor. § 11. Disputes in the Dakhin. § 12. Second Battle of Ambúr, and Triumph of the French Party. § 13. Muhammad Alí asks for English help. § 14. Defeat of Muhammad Alí. § 15. Storming of Ginjí. § 16. Murder of Násir Jang. § 17. Dupleix triumphant. § 18. Murder of Muzaffar Jang, and accession of Saláb-at Jang. § 19. Position of the French in 1751.

§ 10. In 1748, Sáhuji, ex-rájá of Tanjor, who had been dispossessed by Prataáb Singh (his illegitimate brother), applied to the English to restore him to his rightful possessions. He offered, as the price of their assistance, Devikottah (at the mouth of the Coleroon) and the surrounding territory. They consented, and despatched a body of troops to restore Sáhuji. It was found that the people were adverse to his return; but, after an unsuccessful attempt, the English, notwithstanding, sent Major Lawrence to storm Devikottah. This he effected; but Prataáb Singh now came forward, offered to confirm the captors in the possession of the fort and territory, and to give a pension to the ex-rájá, who retired to Madras. The English thus led the way in the adoption of that policy of *interfering in the*

disputes of native princes, which Dupleix afterwards adopted on such a gigantic scale.

§ 11. On the death of Nizám-ul-Mulk, the succession to the Súbahdárship of the Dakhin fell rightfully, according to his grandfather's will, to Muzaffar Jang. But Násir Jang, the second son, who had already rebelled against his father, seized the treasures, gained over the army, and proclaimed himself Viceroy. The dispossessed Muzaffar repaired to Sátára to seek Mahratta aid; met there Chandá Saheb, who was still in prison; and the two wrote to Dupleix, under whose protection Chandá's wife and family were living in Pondicherry.

§ 12. Dupleix promptly negotiated Chandá Saheb's release, paid the ransom, and sent an army towards Ambúr, where Anwar-ud-dín (now in his 107th year), at the head of 20,000 troops, was posted. There the French were joined by the released Chandá with 6,000 troops, and by Muzaffar Jang with 30,000. Their plan was to defeat and dethrone Anwar-ud-dín, and seat Chandá Saheb on the throne of Arcot; and then, with the combined forces of the Carnatic and the French, to oppose Násir Jang, and place Muzaffar on the throne of the Dakhin. The plan was successful. The French leader, M. D'Auteuil, was murdered; but his place was taken by Bussy; Anwar-ud-din and his eldest son were killed fighting gallantly, and the whole of his camp, artillery, and stores, fell into the hands of Chandá Saheb, who took possession of Arcot the next day. Muzaffar Jang now proclaimed himself Viceroy of the Dakhin; and appointed Chandá Saheb, Nawáb of the Carnatic. Both then repaired to Pondicherry to offer their thanks to Dupleix, accompanied with the substantial gift of eighty-one villages around Pondicherry. Eight days were spent in magnificent festivities, in which the tokens of French wealth and power were ostentatiously exhibited to the princely victors.

§ 13. The younger son of Anwar-ud-dín, Muhammad Alí, had escaped and fled to Trichinápalli. The question is a difficult one, whether he or Chandá Saheb was the rightful Nawáb. Muhammad Alí sought help from the English Governor, Mr. Floyer, who hesitated to engage in so momentous a conflict. The conquest of Trichinápalli and the capture of Muhammad Alí would have ensured Chandá Saheb's final triumph; but he delayed; and at length, with Muzaffar Jang and his French allies, he was compelled to retreat. There was disaffection among the French, and distrust everywhere. At Valdár, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, they were routed. Muzaffar was taken prisoner; and Násir Jang, now undisputed Viceroy of the Dakhin, took possession of Arcot, and proclaimed Muhammad Alí Nawáb of the Carnatic.

For the moment Dupleix was mortified, while Lawrence and Clive were triumphant. Násir Jang was viceroy. Muhammad Alí was Nawáb. Chandá Saheb was a fugitive in Pondicherry, and Muzaffar in irons in his uncle's camp.

§ 14. Dupleix nevertheless maintained a firm attitude, sent envoys to Násir Jang; who were instructed to demand in fact all that they could have asked if they had been victors, and to tamper with the fidelity of the chiefs that made up his army. The Nawábs of Kadapa, Karnúl, and Sávanúr, and other leaders were corrupted. The French troops too had come to a better mind. Muhammad Alí, who was timid and irresolute, refused to be guided by the English allies; they left him, and the result was an overwhelming defeat on the banks of the Punár, a few miles from Cuddalor.

§ 15. The storming of Ginjí, to which place the scattered remnant of Muhammad Alí's forces had retired, raised the French reputation to its highest point. This fort was always considered to be impregnable, strongly entrenched between its three hills, each crowned with a citadel. Bussy stormed it in twenty-four hours.

§ 16. Násir Jang, sunk as he was in debauchery, was startled into something like vigorous effort. His mind was made up to come to terms with Dupleix, to make any concession, so that the French king-maker would only allow him to remain in a position where he could gratify every desire of his sensual soul. But, meanwhile, a conspiracy to liberate Muzaffar, and murder Násir Jang, had been formed. The conspirators were to desert, display the French standard, and to fall upon their master. While Násir Jang was awaiting an answer to his offers of submission to Dupleix, the French moved to the attack. Násir Jang, on an elephant, took up his position with the captive Muzaffar on another elephant, guarded by an officer who was ordered to behead his prisoner on the first appearance of treason; but the officer, fortunately for Muzaffar, was himself one of the traitors. In the midst of the action the traitors displayed the French standard, and Násir Jang gave instant orders to behead Muzaffar; but was himself shot through the heart by the Nawáb of Kadapa, and his head laid at the feet of Muzaffar, who had himself expected a similar fate. The prisoner, over whom the sword had been hanging, found himself suddenly not only free, but a mighty ruler; and resolved to march at once to Pondicherry to thank and consult the now triumphant Dupleix. Pondicherry was intoxicated with joy. This was in 1750.

§ 17. Dupleix followed up his now assured triumph by ordering the building of a town on the battle field, to be called Dupleix-fath-ábád *(the town of the victory of Dupleix)*, with a pillar bearing on its four sides laudatory inscriptions in different languages. The town was scarcely built when the pillar was, as we shall see, demolished by Clive [§ 21]. Magnificent presents were given to Dupleix and to the French East India Company. Another installation more imposing than the former took place in Pondicherry. Dupleix now desired peace; but peace there could not be, while Muhammad Alí was the rival Nawáb of the Carnatic. This difficulty seemed to be removed

when Muhammad himself proposed to acknowledge Chandá Saheb, if his father's treasures were given him, and another government assigned to him in the Dakhin.

§ 18. In January, 1751, Muzaffar left Pondicherry for Aurangábád, which was to be his capital. Bussy was to accompany him at his own request, with a body of French troops, and to reside at his court. This arrangement of course made the French masters of the Dakhin. On the march, when near Kadapa, the same three Nawábs, who were leaders in the conspiracy against Násir Jang, conspired, for reasons not clearly ascertainable, to murder Muzaffar, whom they had before saved. A conflict ensued, in which Muzaffar was killed by the Nawáb of Karnúl. There happened to be in the camp, in irons, another son of Nizám-ul-Mulk, called Salábat Jang. Bussy lost no time in releasing him and placing him on the throne. Such were the rapid changes of those eventful times. Bussy succeeded in conducting Salábat in safety to Aurangábád, where on 29th June, 1751, he was installed as Súbalidár of the Dakhin. Bussy remained with him, the master spirit of his court.

§ 19. Thus the year 1751 seemed destined to be a most glorious one for France, and disgraceful to England. The vast territory ruled over by the Nizám was in the power of a French General. The Northern Circars were really French, since that nation possessed a strong force in Masulipatam. Chandá Saheb, whom Dupleix had released and elevated to his present dignity, was Nawáb of the Carnatic. Muhammad Alí had consented to abdicate. The English held nothing in the Carnatic but Madras, Fort St. David, and Devikottah, and had lost any reputation they had ever acquired among the natives; they had hardly one respectable name to oppose to those of *Martin*, *Dumas*, *La Bourdonnais*, *Paradis*, *Bussy*, *and Dupleix*.

PART III. FROM THE DEFENCE OF ARCOT TO THE DEPARTURE OF DUPLEIX. A. D. 1751 to 1754.

§ 20. Clive's defence of Arcot. § 21. Triumphant progress of the English. § 22. Surrender of Law, and death of Chandá Saheb. § 23. Summary of events from 1752 to 1754. § 24. Second Siege of Trichinápalli. Recall and death of Dupleix.

§ 20. Muhammad Alí, though seemingly intent on making terms with the French, was secretly urging the English to aid him; and at length, obtaining a reluctant promise of help from them, he determined to defend himself in Trichinápalli. Dupleix resolved to aid Chandá Saheb with all his available resources. The English made up their minds to support Muhammad Alí to the utmost of their power. All turned on the siege of Trichinápalli. And when the siege became a blockade, and the English

were dispirited, it must have been taken, if the genius of Lieutenant Robert Clive had not completely changed the aspect of affairs (1751).

He recommended to the Governor of Madras, Mr. Saunders, a plan which he had devised for relieving Trichinápalli by carrying the war into the enemy's own country. With 500 men, of whom 200 only were Europeans, and a few light guns, Clive, not more than twenty-five years of age, with officers none of whom had ever been in action, took possession of Arcot, put it into a posture of defence; and, his force reduced to 320 men and 4 officers, made good his position for seven weeks, against 10,000 men headed by Rájá Saheb, the son of Chandá Saheb. The people seeing Clive and his men march steadily in a storm of thunder and lightning, said they were fire-proof, and fled before him. The hero contemptuously refused Rájá Saheb's bribes, and laughed at his threats. When provisions failed in the besieged town, the sepoys came with a request that they might cook the rice, retaining for themselves only the water it was boiled in, handing over every grain of it to the Europeans, who required, they said, more solid food—such self-denial and heroic zeal had Clive's influence inspired in these men! Morári Ráo, the Mahratta chief of Gutti, and his 6,000 men, who were not far from Ambúr, waiting to see the course of events, joined Clive, saying, "since the English can so nobly help themselves, we will help them." Mr. Saunders exerted himself energetically to aid the gallant garrison; and after a desperate assault in which he lost 400 men, Rájá Saheb raised the siege. The moral effect of this memorable defence was incalculable.

§ 21. After this, Clive's course was one of continuous victories. On the 25th March 1752, he demolished the town and pillar of Dupleix (§ 17), a measure of importance, as destroying in the eyes of the natives the impression of French supremacy. On the 26th March, Lawrence again landed in India. And now the English force marched to relieve Trichinápalli, under Lawrence and Clive.

Muhammad Alí was blockaded in Trichinápalli. Chandá Saheb and Law were pressing the siege. Lawrence and Clive were hastening to its relief. Dupleix and Saunders were at Pondicherry and Madras, making prodigious efforts to aid their respective armies. Bussy, the French Clive, who might have changed the aspect of affairs, was in Aurangábád.

§ 22. After many struggles, Law and the whole besieging force were invested in Srírangam, a small island, on which stands a very famous temple of Vishnu, and within a long cannon-shot of the fort of Trichinápalli. The result was that on the 13th June 1752, Law and his force of 785 Frenchmen and 2,000 sepoys surrendered themselves with 41 pieces of cannon and all military stores to Lawrence, acting for Muhammad Alí. Chandá Saheb had given himself up on June 11th to the Tanjor Commander Mánakji, who stabbed him to the heart; and his head was laid at the feet of his triumphant rival. Thus ended the

career of this able but unscrupulous man. Superior to most about him, free from the sordid and sensual vices of many of his contemporaries, we might have desired for him a better fate! Thus too finally fell to the ground the plans of Dupleix for the settlement of the Carnatic.

§ 23. We will here briefly sum up the history of events in the Carnatic from this famous 13th June 1752, to the departure of Dupleix from India, Oct. 14, 1754. It is simply the history of unwearied efforts on his part to retrieve his cause.

The Rájá of Tanjor, Pratáb Singh, the Rájá of Mysor's General, Nandiráj (with whom was Haidar Náik, the future usurper), and Morari Ráo with his Mahrattas, had hitherto aided Muhammad Alí. These Dupleix contrived to detach from the English side. He even tampered with Muhammad Alí himself. He at the same time negotiated for peace with Mr. Saunders, who refused however to concede one of the disputed points. About this time he received from Saláb't Jang a farmán containing his appointment as Nawáb of the Carnatic and of all south of the Krishna. Thus emboldened, Dupleix nominated Rájá Saheb (son of Chandá Saheb) his deputy; and finding him utterly worthless, appointed Murtazá Alí [Chap. VII., § 26], who readily accepted the nomination. Clive, after the heroic capture of the forts of Covelong and Chingleput (*Chengalpat*), accomplished with the most wretched troops in the most astonishing manner, left for England in 1752; but Lawrence, feeble in health, yet with undiminished energies as a commander, remained. The French wrote Dupleix complimentary letters, and made him a Marquis; but sent him no efficient aid.

§ 24. Another siege of Trichinápalli was now undertaken; in which the English under Lawrence were the successful defenders, and which, marked by many most gallant conflicts, lasted till the truce preceding the peace of January 1755. Meanwhile, Dupleix had lost the confidence of the French Government. It must be remembered, that while all this fighting was going on in India, England and France were at peace! Saunders wrote to the English directors, who communicated it to the minister; who, in turn, urged it upon the French Government, that there could not be peace in India, or commercial prosperity, while the restless and ambitious Dupleix was in Pondicherry. M. Godeheu was sent to replace him. He left India, Oct. 14, 1754, a ruined man; for he had spent more than his all in this desperate struggle. He died broken-hearted, in the utmost poverty, at Paris, November 10, 1764.

PART IV. DECLINE OF THE FRENCH CAUSE. A.D. 1754 to 1761.

§ 25. Peace between French and English. § 26. The last Great Struggle, 1757—1761. § 27. The Treaty broken. § 28. Clive's Return. § 29. Decay of French Power under Lally. § 30. The Second Siege of Madras. § 31. The Battle of Wandewash. § 32. Ruin of the French Cause. § 33. Summary of the Chapter.

§ 25. A truce was now agreed upon, October 1754; and a peace followed. Neither party was to interfere further in the concerns of the Native Princes. The possessions of the two countries in India were to be equalised. Muhammad Alí remained Nawáb of the Carnatic. The plans of Dupleix were definitively abandoned. Bussy continued in the Dakhin, and the English supported their Nawáb; but avowed hostilities between the two nations ceased for the present. This treaty was signed, January 11th, 1755. Godeheu, with feverish haste, sacrificed all for peace. Saunders, to whom England owes a debt of gratitude for his unwavering firmness in resisting Dupleix, and for the tact and skill with which he conducted all the negotiations, had the merit of bringing about this result so favourable to England.

§ 26. Peace did not long continue between France and England. Absolute cessation of military operations there was in fact none. The last struggle of the rival Companies, however, began in January 1757, and ended in January 1761. The great names connected with it are Clive, Bussy, Count Lally, Col. Forde, and Sir Eyre Coote.

§ 27. The English assisted the Nawáb of the Carnatic, Muhammad Alí, to collect his tribute in the south from refractory *polígárs*. The French, in like manner, interfered to assist the Mysor regent to collect his dues. Both in fact infringed the conditions of the treaty.

§ 28. Clive, now a Lieutenant-Colonel, arrived in India a second time as Governor of Madras. Admiral Watson was sent with a fleet to watch over English interests. Their first business, however, before proceeding to the Coromandel Coast, was to reduce the Fort of Gheriah, and dislodge the famous pirate Tulají Angria. This was gallantly and effectively done, and thus commerce was freed from a great danger on the western coast [*see* Chap. V., § 38]. Clive arrived in Madras in May 1756. Soon after this, events in Bengal called Clive and Watson thither [*see* Chap. IX., § 6]. A large French force was also sent to Haidarábád to assist Bussy. Neither party could do much at this time in the Carnatic.

§ 29. In the end of 1756 came the long expected tidings of the breaking-out of the war between France and England. It was the Seven Years' War, destined to strip France of all territory and power in both the east and west: the war in which Wolfe won Quebec, and Coote took Pondicherry. Lally was the man sent by the French Government to drive the English out of

India; and who saw the final overthrow of French power in India. He landed in Pondicherry in April 1757. His powers were all but absolute. He found Pondicherry full of corruption. There was neither ability nor honesty among those who should have seconded Lally's efforts. More especially the admiral, the Count d'Ache, failed to co-operate with him effectually. Yet in a few weeks he took Fort St. David. Bussy joined him soon after from the Dakhin; but seemed to have no other desire than to take care of his immense gains. His recall was a death-blow to the French interests in the Dakhin.

§ 30. After an ill-managed expedition to Tanjor, it was resolved to attack Madras, which was invested in December, 1758. Mr. (afterwards Lord) Pigott, Governor of Madras, (1756—1763,) the veteran Lawrence, Major Calliaud, and others, were the defenders of the city. The besiegers were ill-disciplined and disaffected; and in spite of Lally's efforts, no progress was made; until the arrival of Admiral Pocock in the roadstead with the English fleet compelled the French to raise the siege, and retreat towards Pondicherry in a miserable plight. (Feb. 1759).

§ 31. In 1759 fresh troops arrived from England under Colonel Eyre Coote. The great campaign began in December, 1759; and the struggle at Wandewash (*Wandwás*) was the decisive battle which annihilated for ever the idea of a French Empire in India. Lally and Bussy attacked this town with a force of 1,350 European Infantry and 150 Cavalry. Coote hastened to the relief with 1,900 Europeans (of which 80 were Cavalry) and 3,350 natives. The French were defeated and never again rallied. Bussy was taken prisoner.

§ 32. Coote's course was now one of continuous success. Chittapat, Arcot, Timery, Devikottah, Trincomalee, Alamparva, Kárikal, Chilambram, and Cuddalor fell successively into his hands; and in January, 1761, Pondicherry surrendered. Lally was sent a prisoner to Madras; and thus ended the schemes and labours of Martin, Paradis, La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, Dumas, Bussy, and Lally. Lally was himself beheaded in Paris in 1766. The French East India Company ceased to exist in 1769.

§ 33. Let us sum up this chapter.

(1). The genius of Dúpleix conceives a stupendous plan, extending, no doubt, in his mind to the occupation of the throne of the Mughul at Dehli by a Frenchman. He prosecutes his schemes with unspeakable skill, energy, and perseverance. They fail utterly, and involve him in their ruin.

(2). Madras is twice besieged, in 1746, and in 1757, successfully and unsuccessfully.

(3). Pondicherry is twice besieged; unsuccessfully in 1748, and successfully in 1760—1761.

(4). Paradis shows that native troops cannot stand before Europeans.

(5). Bussy and Clive are heroes of rival fame. The one takes Ginjí. The other takes and defends Arcot in 1751.

(6). Of the rival candidates set up by the two nations, France maintains hers in Haidarábád and England maintains hers in Arcot (§ 25). The original claimants, however, perish ignominiously in the struggle.

(7). Trichinápalli is thrice besieged; successfully by the English in 1752; and by the French unsuccessfully in 1751, and in 1754-55.

(8). The English owe much to the steadfastness of Saunders, and more to the bravery and skill of Lawrence and Clive.

(9). It is a war from first to last forced upon the English; who engage in it with reluctance, but prosecute it with the most dogged perseverance.

(10). Afgháns, Mughuls, and Mahrattas are contending in the North-West; unconscious that a power is being consolidated in the south-east and north-east, which is destined to overwhelm them all.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH POWER IN BENGAL. A. D. 1756—1774.

PART I. FROM ALIVARDI KHAN'S USURPATION TO THE BLACK HOLE TRAGEDY. A.D. 1740-1756.

§ 1. Origin of British Power in Bengal. § 2. Alívardi Khán. § 3. Siráj-ud-daulah. § 4. The attack on Calcutta. § 5. The Black Hole.

§ 1. The great extension of British power in Bengal is connected with Siráj-ud-daulah; the Black Hole and its attendant cruelties, A. D. 1756; Clive, and the great battle of Plassey, June 23, 1757, which avenged those cruelties; and the treaty of Allahábád, by which Sháh Alam II., in August 1765, made over to the English Company the Díwání of the Súbahs of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa. During the eventful period from 1744 to 1756, while the struggles in the Carnatic, the history of which we have given in the preceding Chapter, were going on, the English settlements in Bengal were of less importance than either those in the Carnatic or on the Western Coast. They were soon to become the most important of all.

§ 2. When *Alívardi Khán* usurped the government of Bengal, he protected the English. He had to contend repeatedly with the Mahrattas, whom he succeeded in repelling; but the fertile plains of the north-east of India were repeatedly laid waste. He frequently demanded contributions from the English, as the price of this protection; but as his exactions were not excessive, and his services in repelling the dreaded Mahrattas were real, they did not complain.

§ 3. Alívardi Khán had permitted the English (in 1744) to enclose Calcutta with a moat, called the Mahratta Ditch. But in 1756 he died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Siráj-ud-daulah; who was guilty of the most detestable cruelties, and full of implacable hatred to the English. He demanded from them the surrender of a fugitive, which they declined; and they thus afforded him a pretext for attacking them.

The idea of the wealth of the infidel merchants fired him with an ambition to plunder their factories. One of these was at Kásimbazár, near to his capital Murshidábád. This he took, and

then marched to Calcutta. There were not, he told his people, 10,000 people in all Europe. The triumph must be easy and final. Among the prisoners he took at Kásimbazár was a young writer, *Warren Hastings*, who had not been in India six years, and was twenty-four years of age. His after career was destined to be as brilliant in its way as Clive's.

§ 4. The Council of Calcutta were unprepared for such an attack. Their means of defence were inadequate.

They, therefore, tried to conciliate the Nawáb. They then asked help from the Dutch at Chinsurah and from the French at Chandernagar, but were refused with taunts. The Nawáb began to batter their miserable defences on the 18th June, and soon the unhappy garrison was driven within the walls of the fort.

At nightfall the fatal resolution was taken by the Governor (who was called Drake) of escaping down the river. The women and children were sent on board one of the ships, and Drake put off in the last remaining boat. The soldiers of the garrison and others who were left behind tried in vain to find means of escape. The ships dropped down the river to the island of Faltah, where the fugitives took refuge.

§ 5. Holwell, who was the chief among the deserted party, felt himself compelled to negotiate; and the army of the Nawáb marched in. The Nawáb summoned Mr. Holwell before him, reproached him with defending the place against the rightful ruler of Bengal; but assured him no harm should be done to the prisoners. That evening, however, the whole of them, 146 in number, were crammed into a wretched dungeon, ever since called the "Black Hole," eighteen feet square, with small apertures which would have been an oppressively confined prison for one person. The horrible sufferings of the miserable prisoners during that night were indescribable. In the morning twenty-three only were found alive, and they were a fearful spectacle.

The Nawáb is said to have been free from the guilt of ordering this frightful wholesale murder; but he evidently did not regret it. His great anxiety was to find the treasures, which he imagined the English had concealed.

PART II. FROM THE BLACK HOLE TRAGEDY TO PLASSEY. A.D. 1756-7.

§ 6. The Retribution. § 7. Peace. § 8. Chandernagar taken. § 9. The plot against Siráj-ud-daulah. § 10. Umáchánd. § 11. Preparations for the Fight. § 12. The Battle of Plassey. § 13. Mírjáfar made Nawáb. § 14. Death of Siráj-ud-daulah.

§ 6. These sad tidings soon reached Madras, where *Clive* and *Watson*, just returned from the destruction of Gheriah, were soon ready to sail to avenge the cruel injury. 900 English Infantry

and 1,500 Sepoys, full of spirit, and devotedly attached to their leaders, constituted the army, which was destined to effect a mighty revolution in India. It was the middle of December before the expedition reached the Hugli.

No time was then lost. Baj-baj was taken, Calcutta re-occupied, and the town of Hugli stormed. At Baj-baj, Hastings fought as a volunteer. There he and Clive first met. There was but seven years' difference in their ages; but Clive had already gained a mighty name. Hastings felt the assurance within him that he too could immortalise himself. The storming of Hugli was the work of a young Captain, Eyre Coote. Here then are four great name associated at this memorable crisis, *Clive*, *Watson*, *Coote*, and *Hastings*.

§ 7. Siráj-ud-daulah began to awaken from his dream of fancied security. He knew something of the wars in the Carnatic, of Arcot, and of Gheriah; and now this same Clive was in Calcutta! An obstinate engagement took place, and the Nawáb's attacks were repelled at every point. Calcutta was re-taken, January 2, 1757. Negotiations followed, and a hollow peace was made. The English were allowed to assume their old position, and *vengeance was postponed*.

Watson disapproved. The Nawáb, he said, should be "well thrashed." Clive, become diplomatist, unwillingly consented from political considerations to sign the treaty [February 9, 1757]. Thus there was now, strange to say, peace between the English and the author of the horrors of the Black Hole.

§ 8. Watson and others wished to attack the French settlement of Chandernagar. The Nawáb was asked for permission to attack the French, but refused; and even aided the latter with arms and money. In defiance of his threats, the English forces under Clive attacked the place, and Watson co-operated with the fleet. Chandernagar was thus taken in May 1757.

§ 9. The peace between the Nawáb and the English could not be lasting. The latter began to feel their power; and the former full of hatred, fear, and distrust, acted in the most violent and inconsistent manner. He intrigued with Bussy, who was at Cattack which had just been ceded to France. He at the same time sent conciliatory messages and even money to the Council at Calcutta. He, in fact, acted like a madman. He had not a friend, even among his own subjects.

And now a formidable confederacy was formed against him. The plotters were Rájá Ráidurlabh, his treasurer; Mírjáfar, the commander of his troops; Jagat Set, the richest banker in India; with Mr. Watt, the English resident at Murshidábád; and the council at Calcutta. "He or we must fall," said Clive.

§ 10. A Bengáli named Umáchánd was the agent employed to transact business between the English and the Nawáb. He, of course, was in the plot. The plan of the conspirators was this; Siráj-ud-daulah was to be deposed, the British co-operating with Mírjáfar. The most ample and exclusive privileges were to be

granted to the English, and the fullest compensation for their losses; while a large sum was to be distributed among the members of the English Secret Committee.

A difficulty here arose. Umáchánd, at the last moment, threatened to disclose the whole, unless a sum of 3,000,000 rupees was guaranteed to himself. To satisfy him, it was arranged that a clause should be inserted in the agreement to be signed by Mírjáfar and the members of the English committee, relating to his claims. But Clive and his fellow conspirators condescended to cheat the wily Hindú. Two treaties were prepared, one on white paper, the other on red. In the latter Umáchánd's claims were guaranteed. In the other no mention was made of them. The white was the real treaty. The fictitious one was shown to Umáchánd, and he was satisfied Admiral Watson had refused to be a party to this deceit, and his signature was forged!

This plan to dethrone the vicious monster on whom no one could rely, and whose tyranny his subjects could no longer endure, was justifiable. The dissimulation connected with its execution was necessary, it was said, and was defended on the false principle, that the "end justifies the means." But nothing renders deceit right. Clive and his fellow plotters disgraced themselves by fighting bad men with their own weapons.

§ 11. All was now ready, and Clive wrote a peremptory letter to the Nawáb, demanding satisfaction for all injuries, and stating that the British army would wait upon him for an answer. The Nawáb instantly put his army in motion, and the hostile armies met on the field of Plassey. The Nawáb had 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and an enormous train of artillery. Clive had 650 European infantry, 150 gunners, 2,100 sepoys, a few Portuguese, and 10 pieces of artillery. Meanwhile Mírjáfar was terrified by the approaching crisis, and ceased to communicate with Clive. The wisdom of attacking the Nawáb, with such fearful odds against them, seemed to Clive's officers to be doubtful, and in a council of war (the only one Clive ever assembled), thirteen voted against fighting the enemy, and but seven for it. In the minority was Coote.

§ 12. Clive dismissed the council, took a solitary walk in a grove hard by, and decided in his own mind that the attack must be made at once. The next morning he crossed the river, and won the battle of PLASSEY on the 23rd June 1757. The loss on the side of the English was only 22 killed and 50 wounded. Siráj-ud-daulah fled.

§ 13. Mírjáfar, now that victory was assured, joined Clive, who did not condescend to notice his vacillation, but saluted him Nawáb of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa. The new Nawáb was however but a tool in the hands of those who had made, and could unmake him. Umáchánd was soon undeceived as to his reward, and was stunned by the blow; but seems to have soon recovered, as we find him afterwards recommended by Clive, "as

a person capable of rendering great services; and, therefore, not wholly to be discarded."

§ 14. Siráj was soon seized, having been betrayed by a man whom he had wronged; and brought before Mírjáfar, whose son Míran caused him to be put to death. And now came the division of the spoil. Clive contented himself with between two and three hundred thousand pounds, besides an estate received at a later date, of which a great part went to form what is called "Lord Clive's Fund," and the proceeds were applied from the first to the relief of invalids in the service. Clive was not mercenary. Vast treasures, as indemnity for losses sustained, were poured into the Company's coffers, and all shared in the golden harvest.

PART III. CLIVE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION. A. D. 1757—1760.

§ 15. State of India in 1757. § 16. Invasion of Bihár by Sháh Alam II. § 17. The First Battle of Patna. § 18. Humiliation of the French and the Dutch. § 19. Clive's return to England.

§ 15. Clive was now virtually ruler of these rich provinces. He was made governor of the Company's settlements in Bengal. He remained at the head of affairs till 1760. The transactions of this interval we have now to record. We must pause, however, to consider the state of affairs throughout India at this moment, June, 1757:

(1.) Ahmad Sháh Abdáli made his fourth invasion of Hindústán this year, and Dehli was sacked by him, in September 1757.

(2.) Alamgír II. was the nominal emperor, and Gházi-ud-dín II. was his vazír.

(3.) The Mahrattas were intriguing with Salábat Jang and his brother Nizám Alí in the Dakhin. Bussy was in the Northern Circars. He was peremptorily recalled by Lally in 1758. Báláji Báji Ráo (1740—1761) was Peshwá.

(4.) Seringapatam was attacked by the Mahrattas in 1757; and Nandiráj, the regent, consented to pay them tribute. Haidar was then a rising general.

(5.) A desultory warfare was being carried on between the French and English in the Carnatic. Lally sailed from France, May 1757, and arrived at Pondicherry, April 1758.

§ 16. A great danger threatened the new Nawáb in 1759. Clive too was placed in a dilemma. It was thus: Poor Alamgír II. was in the hands of Gházi-ud-dín II., who murdered him. His son, afterwards the unfortunate Sháh Alam II., escaped from Dehli, crossed the *Karma-nása* (which divides Oudh from Bihár) at the very time (November 1759) of his father's murder, of which he did not receive the news for a month. He then assumed the title of emperor, appointed Shujá-ud-daulah, viceroy

of Oudh, his vazír; and with Nazíb Khán as his commander-in-chief, proceeded to take possession of the Eastern districts. The Governor of Patna was a Hindú, Rám Náráyan; who, defeated by the imperial army, threw himself into Patna.

§ 17. Clive wrote to the trembling Mírjáfar and to Rám Náráyan, to re-assure them; and Colonel Calliaud, marching promptly to the relief of Patna, defeated the imperial and Oudh forces, in February and April 1760, and thus saved the Nawáb for the time. Sháh Alam now wrote to Clive, who sent him a sum of money, on condition that he should evacuate the province of Bihár, which he did. Thus relieved, Mírjáfar testified his gratitude by bestowing on Clive, as a *jágír*, the rent due from the Company.

§ 18. Two other important achievements conclude this portion of Clive's history:—

(1.) The *Northern Circars* were in the hands of the French; but Bussy had been recalled by Lally. [Chap. VIII., § 29]. Clive sent an expedition under Colonel Forde in 1759 which drove the French out. He retained for the English only Masulipatam.

(2.) The fickle Nawáb now began to intrigue with the Dutch, for his English friends were so powerful that he dreaded their turning against him. The Dutch in Chinsurah wrote to their chief at Batavia, and it was arranged that a Dutch armament should attack Calcutta. Clive got intelligence of the intrigue; and though England was at peace with Holland, attacked the Dutch by sea and land, defeated them utterly, and laid siege to Chinsurah. The Dutch, thoroughly humbled, agreed to the terms Clive imposed upon them, and Mírjafar's intrigues in that quarter were at an end.

§ 19. Clive now sailed for England the second time, 1760. There he was received with great honour by the king, Mr. Pitt, and the whole nation; and was raised to an Irish peerage.

PART IV. THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF VANSITTART AND SPENCER. A. D. 1761—1765.

§ 20. Vansittart's Administration. § 21. Deposition of Mírjáfar § 22. Mír Kásim as Nawáb. § 23. The Second Battle of Patna. § 24. Quarrel between the Nawáb and the Calcutta Council. § 25. War with Mír Kásim. § 26. Massacre of Patna. § 27. Flight of Mír Kásim. § 28. First Sepoy Mutiny. § 29. The Battle of Baxar. § 30. Humiliation of the Nawáb of Oudh. § 31. Death of Mírjáfar. § 32. Clive a third time in India.

§ 20. This was the most eventful period of Indian History. The French power in India was utterly broken by Coote; and, soon after, the Mahrattas sustained the crushing defeat from

which they never fully recovered. But in those stirring times, Mr. Vansittart, an utterly incompetent person, was acting as Clive's successor in Bengal. There were quarrels between him and his Council; and till Clive's return in 1765, nothing can be more painful than the annals of the administration.

§ 21. After the death of his son Míran (who was struck by lightning, whilst in the Patna Campaign), the affairs of Mírjáfar became worse and worse; and he sent his son-in-law Mír Kásim to Calcutta to arrange his pecuniary matters. Mr. Vansittart and his Council, being struck with the ability of Mír Kásim, resolved to dethrone the Nawáb, and to put his son-in-law in his place. The Nawáb was hopelessly in arrears in his payments to his British allies, was madly extravagant in his expenditure, and evidently looked with no favour upon those by whose hand he had been elevated. Mírjáfar was induced to resign and take up his abode in Calcutta: while Mír Kásim was installed (27th September 1760). He ceded to the English the three provinces of Midnapur, Chittagong and Bardwán, as the price of his elevation. Thus for the second time in four years had the British effected a revolution in Murshidábád.

§ 22. Mír Kásim began with great energy to carry out reforms. He reduced expenditure, paid off his English friends, and disgusted with his position, resolved to shake off their yoke. He removed his capital to Monghir, and there quietly gathered together and disciplined his army. This he did with surprising judgment and skill.

§ 23. At this time Sháh Alam II., who dared not return to his capital (Chap. III., § 168), was hovering about Bihár with a lawless host. Colonel Carnac attacked and dispersed them; and Law, the Frenchman, with his band was taken prisoner, and to the surprise of the natives treated with distinguished courtesy. The Emperor himself was persuaded by Carnac to join him, and accompany him to Patna; where Mír Kásim was induced to pay him homage, and was in consequence formally invested with the Súbahdárship of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa.

§ 24. Mír Kásim's conduct was on the whole vigorous and just; but he was cruel in his treatment of Rám Náráyan the Governor of Patna, whom he despoiled. Mr. Vansittart's failure to protect the unfortunate Governor is the worst feature in his administration.

A quarrel between the Nawáb and the Calcutta Council soon arose. The cause was the immunity from the payment of transit duties claimed by the servants of the Company. This freedom had been formerly granted by Imperial Farmán to the Company itself. It was now grossly abused. All the servants of the Company then traded largely on their own private account; and they claimed freedom from the payment of all inland duties for themselves, their servants and dependents. Every native in fact, hoisting the English flag, could evade the payment of all duties. The Nawáb was defrauded of his

revenues. His servants were insulted and the trade of the country was thrown into confusion. After attempts at a compromise the Nawáb in desperation resolved to put his subjects and the English upon an equal footing by abolishing all transit dues throughout his dominions.

§ 25. War ensued. Some English boats were stopped and examined by the Nawáb's officers at Patna. Mr. Ellis, the resident rashly began hostilities and seized the city of Patna; but his European soldiers got drunk and the Native Commandant re-captured the city. Mr. Ellis and the other Englishmen were taken prisoners. The Nawáb even ordered every Englishman in his dominions to be seized. The Calcutta Council was resolved to dethrone Mír Kásim and reinstate Mírjáfar. A severe struggle ensued; and at Gheriah a battle was fought, which lasted for four hours, and in which the Nawáb's well trained and disciplined troops showed most determined bravery, and were with difficulty overcome. This was in August, 1763. Monghir was soon after taken; and the Nawáb had only Patna.

§ 26. Hitherto our sympathies have been with the Nawáb, whose conduct was spirited, though his cause was hopeless; but the *Massacre of Patna*, the second great tragedy in British Indian History, places him in the list of men whose name history preserves but to hand down to perpetual infamy. He cast Rám Náráyan into the river with weights round his neck. The great bankers, the Sets, friends of the English, were thrown from one of the bastions into the river. The Nawáb threatened that he would murder every European the moment the troops advanced. The commanding officer addressed a letter to the prisoners, asking them to suggest some means of releasing them. Their reply was: "there is no hope of escape. Never mind us. Do not delay the advance of the army one hour." The army moved on to the attack, and the ferocious Nawáb fulfilled his threat. He ordered his officers to kill all the Europeans in prison; but they nobly replied, "No! turn them out and we will fight with them, but not massacre them." But an executioner was found. Walter Raymond, a German, who had been a serjeant in the French service, and now held a commission in the Nawáb's army under the name of *Sumru*, volunteered to do the bloody deed. He led a file of soldiers to the house, fired on them unarmed through the venetian windows; and soon forty-eight English gentlemen (Mr. Ellis among them) and 100 soldiers, were lying in their blood on the floor.

§ 27. Patna was taken (November 6, 1763) after a vigorous resistance; and Mír Kásim fled to Shujá-ud-daulah, Nawáb of Oudh, where the fugitive Emperor still lingered. These three now advanced against the English army; and a campaign began, which is one of the most glorious in the British annals. The Nawáb of Oudh had fought at Pánipat in 1761, under Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. The emperor was the descendant of Tímúr. Mír Kásim had shown himself resolute and daring. Their

attack upon Patna was repulsed; and their army finally took up its position at Baxar, on the Son.

§ 28. And now took place the *first sepoy* mutiny in the Bengal army. Major Munro acted with firmness. A whole battalion attempted to desert to the enemy. They were brought back, and twenty were blown away from guns. This firmness and promptitude at once crushed the mutiny.

§ 29. In October 1764, Munro led his troops against the Nawáb Vazír, who was still encamped at Baxar with an army of 50,000 men. The latter was routed, and 160 pieces of cannon taken. The consequences of this victory were very great. (1.) The Nawáb of Oudh, long master of the empire, was humbled. (2.) It thus made the English supreme in Hindústán. (3.) The emperor himself came to the British camp, and opened a negotiation with the council at Calcutta for his restoration to the throne. It was reserved for Clive to reap the full fruits of this victory. (§ 33.)

§ 30. The Nawáb of Oudh, Shujá-ud-daulah, retreated towards Dehli, and obtained assistance from the Mahrattas under Malhár Ráo Holkár and the infamous Ghází-ud-dín. But Sir R. Fletcher took Allahábád; and Carnac advancing to Kálpi, dispersed the Nawáb's army, who was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of his conquerors. The great central plain of India was now completely in the power of England.

§ 31. Mírjáfar died in January 1765. The Calcutta Council, the record of whose proceedings for five years fills our mind with shame and disgust, made enormous demands of money from him, and it appears that he died partly of vexation. His son, a youth of 20 named Názim-ud-daulah, was put on the throne; the Council received a large present; and the control of the country was virtually in their hands.

§ 32. The Directors of the East India Company, aware of the profligacy of their servants, and alarmed at the state of affairs, now solicited Clive to return to India the second time, with the full powers which he had demanded; 3rd May 1765. Mír Kásim had been expelled from Bengal. The Emperor Sháh Alam II. was a suppliant in the British camp at Allahábád. The Nawáb of Oudh, stripped of everything, waited his doom. The army and its leaders had covered themselves with glory; but the Council, with Mr. Spencer (the successor of Vansittart) at their head, had plunged into the lowest gulf of infamy.

PART V. CLIVE'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION. A. D. 1765—1772.

§ 33. Clive's Reforms. § 34. A Memorable Ten Months. § 35. The Question of *Double Batta*. § 36. Trading put down. § 37. Final Retirement of Clive.

§ 33. Clive's first measure was to enforce the orders of the Directors abolishing the receipt of presents by their servants.

He made all sign covenants binding themselves to obey this rule.

He then proceeded to Allahábád. The result of his negotiations was that the Nawáb of Oudh was restored, as an ally of England; that Korah and Allahabad were given to the emperor; and that this personage, the descendant of Bábar, granted to the Company the virtual sovereignty of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, for which he was to receive 26 lakhs a year. This was effected on the 12th August 1765.

The Nawáb of Bengal was soon compelled to retire on a large pension.

§ 34. Thus in ten months (October 1764 to August 1765) had the English overthrown all the powers of Hindústán, and advanced from a trading company to the assumption of a virtually independent sovereignty. *This period, from the Battle of Buxar to the Treaty of Allahábád, is ever memorable in English History.* The only other powers in India at this time were the Mahrattas, Haidar, and the Nizam of Haidarabad. Madu Rao and Haidar Alí were then in the zenith of their power. [Compare Chapters V. and XII.]

§ 35. Clive had now to carry out further reforms. The army was accustomed to what was called *double batta* when on the field. This was nominally an allowance of subsistence-money; but the amount was unreasonably great. In the case of a captain, it amounted to an increase in his pay of 1,000 rupees a month. Clive was instructed to stop this anomalous system. He was met by a combination of the European officers; which, in fact, was a mutiny. Two hundred officers agreed to resign in a single day; and as the Mahrattas were advancing they thought themselves necessary to the State. Clive accepted each resignation, and put the ex-officer in immediate arrest; while he sent to Madras for every available man. Clive's firmness subdued the mutiny in a fortnight.

§ 36. Clive's next contest was with all the Services of the Company; the members of which universally were engaged in trade, which their position made especially lucrative, and which injured their character, while it prevented them from doing their duty as public servants. They were now absolutely forbidden to engage in any species of trade, and a compensation was granted; but the question of official salaries was not actually settled till the time of Lord Cornwallis. [Chap. X., § 20].

§ 37. Clive left India for the last time in 1767, a poorer man than he was when he returned to it in 1765. He was received in England with great honour; but his reforms had raised up for him a host of enemies. All whom he had punished, or whose corrupt schemes he had thwarted, leagued against him. The Court of Directors did not support him as it ought to have done; but a resolution was passed, "that he had rendered meritorious services to his country." He died in 1776, ten years after Dupleix.

PART VI. VERELST, CARTIER, AND HASTINGS; SUCCESSIVE GOVERNORS OF BENGAL. A.D. 1767—1771.

§ 38. The double Government. § 39. Warren Hastings. § 40. The Treaty of Benares, 1773. 41. The Rohilla War. § 42. The Regulating Act.

§ 38. From 1767 to 1772, Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier were Governors of Bengal. The events of this period are chiefly connected with Mahratta and Mysor history. [*See* Chaps. V., and XII.,] The curse of Bengal was the *double government.* The administration was nominally conducted by the Nawáb's servants; while the European officials vied with them in making haste to become rich by every species of corruption. The Governor in vain strove to stem the torrent. It was a sad period. The Muhammadan Government had been destroyed; and no vigorous English rule had been substituted. The constitution of the Home Government of India was equally vicious. The Directors were appointed but for one year, and their chief anxiety was to make the most of their patronage. It was a period of unblushing joberry and corruption.

§ 39. The Directors resolved in 1772 to abolish the double government; and to assume the direct management, through their own servants, of the revenue of Bengal. Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal to carry out this sweeping measure. From 1772 to 1785 the history of British India is the history of this great man. Warren Hastings was born in 1732, seven years after Clive; landed in India in 1750 as a civilian; was taken prisoner at Kásimbazár just before the Black-Hole tragedy took place; joined the fugitives at Faltah; fought as a volunteer at Bajbaj; was sent by Clive, who discerned his abilities, as Resident at Murshidábád after the battle of Plassey; was appointed member of Council at Calcutta in 1760, where he supported Mr. Vansittart against his corrupt Council; and returned to England in 1764. There he was summoned to give evidence before the House of Commons; and his evidence displayed such vigour and breadth of view, that his reputation was made at once, and he was appointed second in Council at Madras in 1768. In 1772 he was sent as President or Governor to Calcutta, which became the seat of Government instead of Murshidábád. Arrangements for the constitution of new Courts of civil and criminal justice were made by Hastings, and a code drawn up by him within six months.

§ 40. An account of the affairs connected with the treaty of Benares made between Hastings and the Vazír of Oudh, will close this part of the history of British India. The Mahrattas crossed the Ganges on their return home in 1772; and the Vazír of Oudh asserted that the Rohillas had offered him forty lakhs of rupees to defend them from those invaders, and that now they denied the debt. Hastings believed and acted upon

this statement. He proceeded to Benares (in Aug. 1773) to meet the Vazír; and a compact was made that the latter should pay to the English Government forty lakhs of rupees, and that Hastings should lend an auxiliary force to the Vazír to expel the Rohillas.

§ 41. This was carried out in April 1774. Háfiẓ Raḥmat, the Rohilla chief, who had 40,000 under his banner, was defeated by Colonel Champion, and slain, with 2,000 of his men. The Vazír kept aloof with his troops till the battle was decided; and then rushed eagerly to spoil the defeated foe. "We," exclaimed Champion, "have the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit." These Afghán strangers, 20,000 in number, now abandoned their usurped possessions, which still bear the name of Rohilkhand; and the province with its million of Hindús came under the power of the Vazír of Oudh. This was the famous Rohilla war.

§ 42. The Regulating Act, of which an account will be found in the next Chapter, was passed in 1773; but the Judges of the Supreme Court, and the new Members of Council arrived in Calcutta, October 19, 1774. Then Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General of British India. The remainder of his history belongs therefore to the next Chapter, which gives a summary of the careers of the illustrious men who have filled that high office from 1774 to the present time.

CHAPTER X.

THE GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF BRITISH INDIA. FROM A. D. 1774 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

PART I. WARREN HASTINGS. A. D. 1774—1785.

§ 1. Necessity for Reform. § 2. The Regulating Act. § 3. The new Council. § 4. Affairs of Oudh § 5. The Begums. § 6. Nandakumár. § 7. Hastings' Policy with the Mahrattas, and in the Carnatic. § 8. The Supreme Court. § 9. Financial Difficulties. § 10. The Rájá of Benares. § 11. The Begams of Oudh. § 12. Retirement of Hastings. § 13. His Trial. § 14. Indian Affairs in Parliament. § 15. Fox's India Bill. § 16. Pitt's India Bill. § 17. The Nawáb of Arcot's Debts. § 18. Sir John Macpherson, Acting Governor-General.

TABLE OF THE

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF BRITISH INDIA.

1774—1869.

I.	Warren Hastings.	1774—1785	1st Mahratta War; Haidar.
	Mr. Macpherson..	1785	*Officiating.*
II.	Lord Cornwallis..	1786—1793	3rd Mysor War; Permanent Settlement.
III.	Lord Teignmouth (Mr. Shore.)	1793—1798	Neutrality.
	Sir A. Clarke.....	.....	*Officiating.*
IV.	Marquis of Wellesley ..... (Lord Mornington.)	1798—1805	4th Mysor War; 2nd Mahratta War; Subsidiary System.
V.	Lord Cornwallis..	1805	Peace-at-any-price policy.
	Sir Geo. Barlow...	1805—1807	*Officiating.* Non-intervention: Vellor Mutiny.
VI.	Lord Minto	1807—1813	Travancor; Embassies.
VII.	Marquis of Hastings ..... (Earl of Moira.)	1814—1823	The Pindári War; Nepál; Mahratta Settlement.
	Mr. Adam	.....	*Officiating.*
VIII.	Lord Amherst ...	1823—1828	1st Barmese War; Bhartpur.
	Mr. W. B. Bayley	.....	*Officiating.*

IX.	Lord W. Bentinck	1828—1835	Mysor; Kúrg; Reforms; Progress; Peace.
	Sir C. Metcalfe ...	1836	*Officiating.* Freedom of Press.
X.	Lord Auckland ...	1836—1842	Afghán Expedition; 1st Chinese War.
XI.	Lord Ellenborough	1842—1844	Afghánis án; Sind; Gwáliár.
XII.	Sir H. Hardinge..	1844—1847	1st Panjáb War; Progress.
	Mr. Bird.....	.....	*Officiating.*
XIII.	The Marquis of Dalhousie	1848—1856	2nd Panjáb War; 2nd Barmese War; Annexation; Progress.
XIV.	Viscount Canning (First Viceroy)	1856—1862	Mutinies; Extinction of the Company's Dominion.
XV.	Lord Elgin.....	1862—1863	
XVI.	Sir John Lawrence	1864—1869	Oudh Settlement.
XVII.	The Earl of Mayo	1869—	

§ 1. There was, as we have seen, no Governor-General of British India till 1774. Before that date, the Governments of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, were independent of one another. The history has been brought down to the time when, under Warren Hastings as head of the Bengal Presidency, the double system of government was destroyed.

We must now consider the Regulating Act, its provisions, and results.

The Proprietors and Directors of the East India Company were essentially the partners and managers of a Mercantile Establishment. Nothing could console them for insufficient profits in trade. The glorious successes of Clive, the acquisition of territory and influence, and the humiliation of their French rivals, could not compensate them for an empty treasury.

Moreover, the servants of the Company in many cases had neglected their duties, made haste to become rich, and in doing so, had been guilty of oppression. Parliament determined to interfere.

Lord North was then prime minister. There were mutual jealousies. The ministers and Parliament feared that the Company would acquire too much influence. The nation in general feared that, with the patronage of the East Indian Governments in their hands, the ministers would become too strong.

§ 2. The result was a compromise, and the Charter of the Company was renewed, some important changes being made in its constitution; with the added provisions:—

(1). That £40,000 a year should be paid by the Company to the nation;

(2). That, while Madras and Bombay retained their Governors and councils, the Governor of Calcutta, Hastings, should become Governor-General, on a salary of £25,000 a year; and assisted by a Council, should be supreme over all the British possessions in India; and

(3). That a Supreme Court of Judicature, consisting of a Chief Justice and three other Judges, should be established in Calcutta.

The great mistake in the Regulating Act was that the four members of the Governor-General's Council were invested with equal authority in Council with himself.

§ 3. Warren Hastings accordingly became Governor-General, with his Council of four in October 1774. He held his high office for eleven years. These councillors themselves were badly selected. They were Colonel Monson, General Clavering, Mr. Francis (afterwards Sir Philip Francis), and Mr. Barwell. The last, who had been long in India, invariably supported Mr. Hastings. The other three opposed him; and as the votes of the majority decided every matter, the new Governor-General found himself shorn of all his power, by his accession of dignity. Hastings struggled against the factious opposition of his colleagues till the end of 1780, when Francis left the country.

§ 4. The affairs of Oudh first engaged their attention. The Vazír was compelled to make over the zamíndárí of Benares to the English; and Chait Singh, its zamíndár, was elevated to the rank of Rájá, and placed on the footing of a feudatory prince, paying a tribute to the Company of twenty-two and a half lakhs a year.

§ 5. The affairs of the Begams of Oudh have been too notorious to be omitted. The Nawáb Vazír, Shuja-ud-daulah, died in 1775. His widow and mother, the Begams, claimed by virtue of a supposed will of the late Nawáb the whole of the treasure, two millions of rupees, which was heaped up in the vaults of the zanána. The acknowledgment of this claim Mr. Hastings opposed, but in vain. The young Nawáb was thus left with no money, an army to support, and a heavy debt to the English Government.

§ 6. Charges were soon poured in against Mr. Hastings by men who regarded his power and influence as extinct. The chief of the accusers was Nandakumár, a man infamous for his treachery and perfidy, whom the triumvirate in the Council took under their protection. In the desk of this worthy were found, after his death, facsimiles of the seals of all the most eminent persons in Bengal. His accusations against Hastings were transparently false, and supported by palpable forgeries.

While this was going on, Calcutta was astounded by the intelligence that Nandakumár was arrested on a charge of forgery, at the suit of an eminent native merchant. This was tried in the Supreme Court, the jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to be hanged. This execution of a Bráhman created a profound sensation, and has been made a matter of accusation against Hastings. For this there is not the shadow of reason. Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, who condemned him, only administered the existing law, which has since been altered. Mr. Francis and his two associates had the power to suspend the execution, and to refer the matter to England; but they declined to interfere. There is not, and there never was, the slightest evidence to connect Mr. Hastings, in any way, with the death of this atrocious miscreant.

§ 7. The connection of Hastings with Mahratta politics must be studied in Chap. V. His conduct in aiding the Madras Presidency in its struggles with Haidar, from 1780 till his own departure from India, contrasts wonderfully with that of the Governors of Mádrás during the same period.

§ 8. The Judges of the *Supreme Court* established in Calcutta, in striving to "protect natives from oppression and give India the benefits of English law," committed many great mistakes. They interfered between the zamíndárs and their ráyats. Their attorneys stirred up strife everywhere. Everything was to be brought under the jurisdiction of the "Supreme Court."

Hastings interfered to protect the land-holders from this vexatious interference, and Parliament was petitioned for a change of system; and meanwhile a remedy was discovered. There was a Court of Appeal in Calcutta called the *Sadar Díwání Adálat.* In this the Governor-General himself and his Council were appointed to preside. This they could not do, and Hastings offered the appointment of Chief Judge of this Court to Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This reconciled all parties, and enabled Impey to turn his attention to the subject of the administration of justice according to such forms as might suit the great simplicity of native habits. This, though disallowed by the Court of Directors at the time, is the system now restored by the amalgamation of the Supreme Court in each presidency with the Company's old Court of Appeal.

§ 9. Upon Hastings devolved the necessity of providing the money to carry on the various wars which in 1780 were raging in India. [Chapter V., § 68]. Seldom has a heavier burden rested on the shoulders of one resolute man. Mysor, the French, the Dutch, and the Mahrattas, were in the field against the English at once. To provide for the expenses of these wars was the duty of Hastings. He has incurred much odium by the means he took to fulfil this duty.

§ 10. He demanded from Chait Singh (§ 4), whose zamíndárí of Benares, transferred to the English in 1775, was now held by him as a feudatory or dependent noble, an additional tribute in men and money, in aid of his benefactors and superiors. The Rájá or zamíndár evaded compliance with the demand; and Hastings proceeded to Benares chiefly for the purpose of enforcing it. Irritated by the ingratitude of the Rájá, Hastings placed him in arrest. The populace rose and massacred the sepoys, who carried out the order, and surrounded the place where Hastings was. The Rájá escaped from the city. Hastings was in extreme peril, yet he lost no jot of his characteristic coolness and self-possession. Eventually he retired to Chanár; troops were sent in from all quarters, the Rájá's army of 20,000 men was defeated, and Bijgarh, his hiding place, was taken. The troops, however, seized and divided the treasure found in the fortress. Hastings was cruelly disappointed: he had failed to supply the wants of the

exhausted treasury. Chait Singh escaped to Gwáliár, where he lived for 29 years. His nephew was placed on the throne.

§ 11. More doubtful is the treatment of the Begams of Oudh (§ 4). The Nawáb Vazír of Oudh represented his inability to pay his dues to the Company, and asked permission to seize the treasures which the Begams had appropriated. Charges were made against these ladies of abetting Chait Singh, and supplying him with men and money. The Begams were compelled to give up 76 lakhs of rupees, which were paid over to the Company.

§ 12. The Court of Directors condemned these measures, and Hastings signified his intention of retiring. He addressed letters to all the chiefs and princes of India, taking leave of them; and resigned with dignity a trust which he had held under different titles for 13 years. He left India in February, 1785.

§ 13. In England, Hastings was received with favour by the King, the Ministry, and the Directors. But Pitt had a prejudice against him, though he extolled and even vindicated him. Francis, his rancorous foe, was in Parliament. The renowned orator Burke and the Whig party in general combined against him, and it was resolved to impeach him. His trial before the Lords began on the 13th February 1788; and was protracted till the 23rd April 1795, when he was completely and honourably acquitted. The trial costs him 100,000£. Though thus reduced to comparative poverty, he lived peaceably at Daylesford till his death in 1819. Once only did he again appear in public, and then he was called to give, in 1813, evidence before the House of Commons regarding Indian affairs. On that occasion the whole assembly stood up to do him honour.

§ 14. From 1780 to 1784, the affairs of the East India Company occupied a great deal of the attention of Parliament. Lord North, Mr. Burke, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt (the younger) were the great statesmen whose influence was most felt in Indian affairs. But the interest of the student will dwell chiefly upon what are called *Fox's* and *Pitt's India Bills.*

§ 15. Fox's Bill aimed at the transfer of British India to the direct government of the Crown. Seven Commissioners appointed by Parliament were to manage the government, and nine assistant-directors the trade. The Bill passed the Commons; but was rejected by the Lords.

§ 16. William Pitt the younger (born 1759; died 1806), England's greatest statesman, succeeded as prime minister. He immediately introduced his India Bill. Its chief provisions were these:—

1st. The Court of Directors, still chosen by the proprietors of India Stock, were to govern as before, in appearance; while three of their number, forming a secret committee, were to be the real actors.

2nd. In reality the power was transferred to a "Board of Control," consisting of six privy councillors, whose decisions were final. The President of this Board was the *Indian Minister.*

3rd. The Bill forbade the Governor-General to enter upon any war, except in self-defence; or to make any treaty guaranteeing the dominions of any native prince.

4th. The Governor-General's Council was reduced to three, of whom one was to be the commander-in-chief of the Company's Forces in India, and the other two Bengal Civilians. Similar Councils were established at Madras and Bombay.

For 16 years, Mr. Dundas, *the first President of the Board of Control*, filled that position. Parliament, after this, rarely interferred, and for many years showed little interest in Indian affairs.

§ 17. One of the greatest scandals in British History is that connected with the Nawáb of Arcot's debts. His creditors were men in the Company's service, of every grade. The claims were swollen by every species of dishonesty. To lend money to the Nawáb was the shortest way to fortune. For 60 years these claims were under investigation, and cost the country millions of money.

§ 18. Sir John Macpherson, Senior Member of Council, acted as Governor-General for twenty months, from February 1785 to September 1786. The offer of the appointment was made to Lord Macartney, who judiciously demanded additional powers to add weight to an office of so much responsibility. Mr. Dundas was offended, and Lord Cornwallis was immediately appointed Governor-General of India.

PART II. LORD CORNWALLIS. A.D. 1786—1793.

§ 19. Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General. § 20. His Reforms. § 21. Annexation of the Guntur Sarkár. § 22. The Mysor War. § 23. The *Permanent Settlement*. § 24. Civil and Criminal Courts reformed. § 25. Retirement of Lord Cornwallis. § 26. Indian affairs in England.

§ 19. The new Governor-General arrived in Calcutta in September 1786. For the state of affairs among the Mahrattas and in Mysor at this period the student must compare Chapters V., and XII.

§ 20. Lord Cornwallis enjoyed the entire confidence of Pitt and Dundas. He came out pledged to avoid all occasions of war. His mission was to be that of a reformer. His firmness repressed the factious, and he bent all his energies to the removal of corruption from all branches of the service.

Such a reform was never more needed. At this time small salaries were given to the Company's servants; and as their opportunities were great, they easily yielded to the temptation of enriching themselves by every species of official depredation. His first real measure of effectual reform was assigning to every officer of Government such a salary as should leave him no shadow of excuse for trading, or attempting to acquire money by corrupt practices. This measure, added to an incomparable firmness and

consistency in resisting all jobbery and favoritism, and in punishing all frauds, soon caused the purity of the Indian services to become as conspicuous as their corruption had been notorious.

§ 21. The next step was to claim the Guntur Sarkár, which had been assigned by the Nizám to the British Government, on the death of Salábat Jang. In 1788, Lord Cornwallis made a peremptory demand for its cession. The Nizám complied at once, but begged for a British contingent to aid him against Tippú, who had usurped the Bálaghát. Lord Cornwallis promised this aid, stipulating that the British troops should not be employed against any power in alliance with England. Of these powers a list was given, *and Tippú's was not there.* This letter was the occasion, though not the real cause, of Tippú's breach of the treaty of Mangalor. [*See* chap. XII., § 37].

§ 22. Lord Cornwallis was in the Madras presidency, from 1790 to 1792, engaged in the conduct of the Mysor war. He was censured in England for the acquisition of territory, which was the result of this war; but the nation in general approved of his conduct, and he was made a marquis. He generously gave up his share of prize-money amounting to 50,000£, as did General Medows.

§ 23. Lord Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement [1798] is the chief ground of his fame.

The land had been the principal source of revenue under every dynasty. The collectors of this revenue in Bengal under the Múghul emperors had, by degrees, converted themselves into zamíndárs, possessing military authority. Many of these zamíndárs were also the representatives of the old local aristocracy. These persons the British Government did not at first recognize: but in 1786, the Directors wrote out that all engagements should, as a matter of policy, be made with the zamíndárs. This was to be done for ten years; and the settlement to be made permanent, if it were found to answer. Lord Cornwallis, by his regulations in 1793, confirmed the zamíndárs in the absolute proprietorship of the soil. They were legally constituted landlords under the British Government; and the cultivators were recognised as their tenants. These last were left too much at the mercy of the zamíndár, and this was the weak point in the whole settlement. Mr. Shore opposed its being made permanent. Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Charles Grant decided that it should.

§ 24. The reform of the Civil and Criminal Courts next occupied his attention. Sir Elijah Impey's rules were developed into a volume of regulations by Sir George Barlow; and the system of Civil Courts and procedure which, with modifications, still exists, was established. The greatest evil of this system was the power it gave to the police of oppressing the people. Natives were excluded from all share in the administration of justice, and from all but the most subordinate offices in the public employ. This was remedied in after times.

§ 25. Lord Cornwallis left India in October, 1793. He was firm, dignified, vigorous. His administration consolidated greatly the Indian empire. Clive and Hastings were its founders. Cornwallis gave it system and stability. For the important events which made Mahratta power supreme in Dehli, from 1784 to 1803, the reader must consult Chap. V. and Chap. III.

§ 26. To this period belong the *Declaratory Act;* and the *Charter of* 1793. In 1788 Mr. Pitt introduced a bill (afterwards called the Declaratory Act), affirming that the bill of 1784 was intended to transfer to the Crown all real power in regard to Indian affairs. The Company's Charter was renewed in 1793 for twenty years, chiefly through the influence of Mr. Dundas.

PART III. MR. SHORE. A. D. 1793—1798. [SIR JOHN SHORE, AFTERWARDS LORD TEIGNMOUTH.]

§ 27. Mr. Shore as Governor-General. § 28. Mutiny of Bengal Officers § 29. Oudh Affairs.

§ 27. Mr. Shore was a civilian, who had attracted the notice of Pitt and Dundas by his able conduct of the Bengal *Permanent Settlement.* At this period the affairs of Tippú, of the Púna Government, and of the Nizám, were very complicated. The Governor-General tried to mediate; but with little effect. [*See* Chap. V., Chap. XII.] Mr. Shore's subsequent neutrality and want of energy emboldened the Mahrattas to attack the Nizám [Chap. V. § 78]. The battle of Kurdlá humbled the Nizám, placed Náná Farnavís on the pinnacle of power.

§ 28. The mutiny [1795-96] of the European officers of the Bengal army, who clamoured for higher pay and for every species of privilege, was only checked by a weak and injudicious yielding to the malcontents of nearly all they asked. The Home Government immediately superseded Sir John Shore, and Lord Cornwallis agreed to resume his office for a time; but the evident inclination of the Court of Directors weakly to yield to the discontented officers, led to his subsequent refusal to return to India.

§ 29. In 1797, the Nawáb Vazír Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh, died. In vain had he been exhorted to pay some attention to the welfare of his kingdom. He lived and died a child in intellect, and a debased sensualist. A reputed son of the late Nawáb, Vazír Alí, succeeded him; but his proved illegitimacy and worthless character led Sir John Shore to displace him, and elevate Sa'ádat Alí, brother of the late Nawáb. Mr. Cherry was the Resident at Benares; and he negotiated the treaty with Sa'ádat Alí then living at Benares. Soon after, the new Nawáb marched to Lucknow, where Sir John was encamped. The Governor-General was in extreme peril from Vazír Alí's hordes of lawless

soldiers; but he, with the utmost calmness and composure, maintained his position, and the new Nawáb was placed on the *masnad*, Vazír Alí being sent to Benares. In 1799, Vazír Alí assassinated Mr. Cherry in Benares, and raised a temporary rebellion; but was defeated and taken prisoner.

Sir John Shore, who was created Lord Teignmouth, sailed for England in March 1798.

PART IV. THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY. A. D. 1798—1805.

§ 30. Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis of Wellesley, Governor-General. § 31. Summary of his Administration. § 32. Development of the Subsidiary System. § 33. Dangers in the Dakhin and the North-West. § 34. Oudh Affairs. § 35. Arrangements in the Dakhin and with the Mahrattas. § 36. Celebrated Anglo-Indian Officers of this Period. § 37. Departure of Lord Wellesley. § 38. His Establishment of the College of Fort William. § 39. His Quarrels with the Directors.

§ 30. The Marquis of Wellesley (at first known as Lord Mornington), the fourth Governor-General, arrived in India in May 1798; and quitted it in August 1805. The most *brilliant* of the Governors-General of British India, he is to be compared with *Clive*, *Hastings*, and *Dalhousie*.

§ 31. He departed altogether, necessarily, wisely, and boldly from the *non-interference policy*. The chief events of his administration were the following:—

(1). The Fourth Mysor war was conducted to a happy issue. Tippú's overthrow took place in 1799. Mysor became again a Hindú kingdom.

(2). The affairs of Oudh were regulated in 1801.

(3). The Mahratta confederacy was broken up by the treaty of Bassein, 1802. [*See* Chap. V., § 87].

(4). The second great Mahratta war, which lasted for a few months only, was brought by Lord Lake and General Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington to a triumphant conclusion. [*See* Chap. V., § 97]. The Rájá of Barár (Raghuji Bhonslé) and Daulat Ráo Sindia submitted to form subsidiary alliances with the British Government; the former in November 1803, the latter in February 1804.

(5). The state of Europe, torn by the conflicts of the French revolution, and also the interference of France in Indian affairs, must be considered in studying this period. The Marquis of Wellesley was in fact fighting France on Indian soil.

(6). Sháh Alam II. was released from Mahratta thraldom by Lord Lake, September 1803.

(7). The war was renewed with Holkár, 1805.

(8). Bhartpur was unsuccessfully besieged, 1805; but its Rájá submitted.

§ 32. The new Governor-General was a man of genius, refined by education, possessed of a most comprehensive mind, the friend of Pitt and Dundas; and for four years had been a member of the Board of Control. It is his merit to have destroyed the foolish idea of a *balance of power* among the native princes, of balancing them one against the other, and secretly encouraging their enmities, in order to obtain power over all, without seeming to interfere with any. His was a bold and wise *policy of intervention.* It has been called the *subsidiary system.* He was not its author; but he developed it, and strove to introduce it into every Native State.

§ 33. To estimate the work Lord Wellesley had to do, we must compare Chap. XII. and Chap. V. Tippú, the Nizám, and Sindia were alike under French influence, relied upon French officers, and were disposed to aid the French to overthrow the British dominion in the East. French emissaries were everywhere. Zamán Sháh, the grandson of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, the victor of Pánipat, also threatened to invade India. There was thus apparent danger on every hand.

§ 34. Oudh was mismanaged and oppressed by its ruler and his Vazír. The troops were ill-disciplined and irregularly paid. Sa'ádat Alí, according to the terms of the treaty which placed him on the throne, was bound to maintain an efficient army, on which condition the British Government engaged to defend his throne and kingdom. This Lord Wellesley now compelled him to do. Districts were ceded for the support of the army, and Oudh was thus placed in security. These important districts comprised Allahábád, Fathipur, Cawnpur, Azimgarh, Gorakhpur, Bareilly, Murádábád, Bijnaur, Budáon, and Sháhjahánpur.

§ 35. The first *subsidiary alliance* formed was with the Nizám, whom the battle of Kurdlá [Chap. V., § 79] had well nigh ruined. The French force was disbanded; and a corps of British troops, paid by the Nizám, and officered by Europeans, was substituted for it. If the Nizám became thenceforth utterly powerless, he was at least rendered *secure.* This is the point to be considered in the whole question of the *subsidiary treaties.* The native States lost their *independence;* but they gained a *security,* which they had no other means of obtaining.

The Peshwá, by the advice of the Náná Farnavís, declined the closer alliance; but remained outwardly friendly to the British Government. The other Mahratta powers followed this example, 1798 [*see* Chap. V., § 84].

The capture of Seringapatam firmly established the British power from Cape Comorin to the Krishna [*see* Chap. XII., § 48].

The extinction of the Tanjor Ráj, as an independent Government, took place in 1800.

§ 36. The number of great men then in the English service, civil and military, is very remarkable. Colonel Sir Barry Close, Sir John Malcolm, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Munro, Henry Wellesley (Lord Cowley), Arthur Wel-

lesley (the Duke of Wellington), Mr. Colebrooke, Sir Charles Metcalfe, General Lord Lake, Colonel Collins, Colonel Ochterlony, Major Walker, and Mr. Webbe were among these; and many of them were men formed and fitted for great achievements by the influence of this great Governor-General.

§ 37. In August 1805, Lord Wellesley left Calcutta, attended by the applause of all right-judging persons. The Court of Directors have recorded their opinion of his "ardent zeal to promote the well-being of India, and to uphold the interest and honour of the British Empire." A sum of £20,000 was granted to him, and his statue was placed in the India House.

§ 38. One of the events which marked his career was the establishment on a grand scale (which was reduced by the Court of Directors) of the College of Fort William, for the education of Civil Servants, and for the promotion of oriental learning. *Charles Theophilus Metcalfe* was the first student in 1800.

§ 39. One of the subjects of continual debate during this administration, was that of *private trade*. The Company in 1793 allowed 3,000 tons annually for this purpose; but the trade of private individuals soon passed this limit. Lord Wellesley wished to throw the trade open, and thereby incurred the displeasure of the Directors. In 1802, the Court reduced various items of expenditure sanctioned by the Governor-General, removed Mr. Webbe, the able Secretary of the Madras Government, and interfered in such a vexatious way with the prerogatives of the Governor-General, that the latter intimated his intention of returning to England that year. Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, son of the great Clive, resigned in consequence; and was succeeded by Lord W. Bentinck. The Governor-General, however, was induced to remain another year; and that year fixed the destinies of British India—it was the year of the Second Mahratta War.

PART V. LORD CORNWALLIS (THE SECOND TIME) AND SIR GEORGE BARLOW. A. D. 1805—1807.

§ 40. Lord Cornwallis a second time in India. § 41. Sir George Barlow. § 42. The Vellor Mutiny. § 43. Causes of the Outbreak. § 44. Sir George Barlow sent to Madras as Governor.

§ 40. Lord Cornwallis was appointed to succeed the great Marquis; and arrived a second time in Calcutta, on 1st August 1805. His main object was to overturn Lord Wellesley's policy, and to terminate the contest with Sindia and Holkár at any cost. [*See* Chap. V., § 101]. He condemned the treaty of Bassein; and was willing, despite the manly and energetic remonstrances of Lord Lake, to lay British honour at the feet of the successful freebooter, Daulat Ráo Sindia. Death, however, arrested his progress to the scene of war, at Gházipur, near Benares.

§ 41. Sir George Barlow, as senior member of Council, now succeeded. He agreed with the views of his predecessor. "Lord Wellesley's policy of intervention," he said, "must in its nature be progressive, and must ultimately tend to a system of universal dominion." It has progressed, and England is now the paramount power in India; but India has never been peaceful or prosperous, except under a paramount power. We have seen the state of India under the Mauryan dynasty of Asoka, under the Afghán dynasties, under the Mughuls, all more or less paramount; and these have been succeeded by the British power, stronger and more beneficent than any of its predecessors. Lord Wellesley's policy was the only one that afforded a hope for the down-trodden inhabitants of the land.

§ 42. During Sir G. Barlow's tenure of office occurred the *Vellor Mutiny*. There was dissatisfaction among the sepoys in the Madras Presidency on account of a change in their head-dress. Lord W. Bentinck was then Governor of Madras. The discontent was fomented by the sons of Tippú and their retainers, who lived in Vellor under scarcely any restraint, with princely incomes, surrounded by a large Muhammadan population.

On the 10th of July 1806, at 2 A.M., the native troops in Vellor rose against the European part of the garrison, consisting of two companies of the 69th regiment, and massacred one hundred and thirteen of them. Colonel Gillespie, who was at Arcot, sixteen miles distant, hearing of the attack, immediately marched to the spot, retook the fort, and dispersed the insurgents.

§ 43. Tranquillity was ultimately restored; but the Vellor mutiny showed that nothing is too insignificant to excite the most widespread panic in India. On this occasion it was said that the new head-dress was a kind of hat, and that its introduction was a part of a systematic design to make the sepoys into Christians. The turnscrew attached to the uniform was said to be a cross. Vaccination, which had been recently introduced, was a part of the plan. It was said that all natives who did not put up the cross over their doors were to be massacred. It is, however, a truth admitting of no dispute, that the world has never seen a Government more liberal and entirely tolerant, than that which Britain exercises over her Indian Empire.

§ 44. Sir G. Barlow, a good man of business, but not of a high order of intellect, of unpopular manners, and destitute of tact, was now superseded by Lord Grenville's Ministry; and Lord Minto was appointed. Sir G. Barlow was confided with the Government of Madras, which he held from 1807—1813.

PART VI. EARL OF MINTO. A. D. 1807—1813.

§ 45. Lord Minto, Governor-General. § 46. Disturbances in Travancor. § 47. Order restored. § 48. Mauritius and Bourbon taken. § 49. Treaty with Ranjít Singh. § 50. Treaties with Sind, Kábul, and Persia. § 51. Return of Lord Minto. § 52. The Company's Monopoly taken away.

§ 45. Lord Minto, who arrived in Calcutta early in 1807, and left it in October 1813, found India in a state of stupor, which the advocates of the "peace-at-any-price" policy called tranquillity.

§ 46. In 1808, disturbances broke out in Travancor, which did not cease till February 1809. The management of Travancor had been shamefully corrupt. The Resident had interfered, and the Diwán was irritated. He intrigued with the Diwán of the neighbouring State of Cochin and with the French. Sir G. Barlow was then Governor of Madras, and took prompt measures to put down the rebellion. A vessel with thirty-one privates and a surgeon of the 12th Regiment put into Alepy.* The men were decoyed on shore, and with stones tied round their necks thrown into the back-water. The Resident's house at Kollam (*or Quilon*) was attacked, and he escaped with difficulty.

§ 47. A detachment under Colonel H. Leger marched from Pálaimkota to the Arambúli lines, constructed in the pass about twelve miles from Cape Comorin, where there is a broad level opening between the mountains leading up from South Tinnevelli into the Travancor country. These lines were soon occupied by the British troops, under Major Welsh, and all the passes seized. The Diwán finally committed suicide, and his brother was hanged in front of the 12th Regiment, in the murder of whose men he had participated. The Rájá denied all cognizance of the acts of his Diwán. The Travancor State remained under British management till 1813, when it was restored to the Rájá. The Cochin territories were placed under more immediate British control.

§ 48. It was now found necessary to send an expedition to take the islands of Mauritius, Bourbon, and Rodriguez, from which French cruisers constantly issued and made prizes of English ships. Expeditions in 1809 and 1810 accomplished this result in the most brilliant manner. Mauritius still remains under the British dominion. Bourbon was restored to France in 1814.

§ 49. Lord Minto sent Mr. Metcalfe (afterwards Sir Charles Metcalfe, and subsequently Lord Metcalfe) on an embassy to the sovereign of Láhor, the extraordinary *Ranjít Singh* [*see* Chap. XI.] A treaty was concluded by which the latter bound himself not to encroach upon the rights of the Cis-Satlaj† States, and to

* On the coast, midway between Cochin and Kollam.

† See foot-note, page 231.

maintain amicable relations with the British Government. Such an effect is said to have been produced upon that astute chief by the demeanour of the young envoy (then in his twenty-first year) that he never could be persuaded in his after-life to break the treaty he then signed.

§ 50. Lord Minto not only made British influence supreme in the Western and Eastern seas, but he opened negotiations with Sind, Kábul, and Persia, with the objects of preventing French intrigues, and securing peace in India. The Amírs of Sind agreed to exclude the French. Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent to Kábul; where he concluded a treaty with the king, Sháh Shújá, in 1809. Sir John Malcolm was sent to Persia, and a treaty was signed by the Sháh, binding himself not to allow the passage through Persia of troops hostile to Britain. It is the glory of Lord Minto to have selected such men as Malcolm, Metcalfe, and Elphinstone.

§ 51. Lord Minto was now raised to an earldom; but died shortly after his return to England in 1813. He is justly esteemed one of the greatest of our Anglo-Indian statesmen.

§ 52. In 1793, the East India Company's Charter had been renewed for twenty years. The time had now come for the reconsideration of the subject. The result was the destruction of the Company's monopoly, for which the Court of Directors made a determined struggle. The trade to China was still to remain in their hands, but the trade to India was thrown open.

PART VII. THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS. A. D. 1814—1823. (LORD MOIRA).

§ 53. The Marquis of Hastings as Governor-General. § 54. War with Nepál. § 55. General Ochterlony's Campaign. § 56. Peace. § 57. Mahratta Affairs. § 58. Retirement of Lord Hastings.

§ 53. Earl Moira (afterwards the Marquis of Hastings) succeeded. He was a distinguished soldier, an experienced statesman, and a man of amiable manners and noble character. He arrived in Calcutta in October 1814. He found the finances embarrassed, and many disputes with Native States pending. He was for nine years an indefatigable, resolute, and successful ruler.

§ 54. The first dispute was with the Court of Nepál, where the Ghúrkas had recently made themselves formidable. The native ruler of Nepál had encroached on the British territory on every side, and more especially had imprisoned the zamíndár of Bhútwál, who was under British protection; and had seized his territories. Eighteen English police officers were murdered in Bhútwál; and it became necessary to proceed in the most energetic manner to vindicate the national honour. Four divisions were sent. One

was to march on Khatmandú by way of Makwánpur. The second was to take possession of Bhútwál, Siorájpur, and Palpa. The third to penetrate the passes of the Dehra Dun, occupy that valley, and seize the passes of the Jamnah and the Ganges. The fourth, under General Ochterlony, was to act against the western provinces, where the flower of the Ghúrka troops were located.

§ 55. The advance by the Dehra Dun into Garhwál was slow. Kalunga was taken after several failures. General Ochterlony occupied, after immense labor, and by great bravery and skill, the heights of Rámgarh; and the Rájá of Biláspur [*see* Introduction, § 12] was detached from the Nepál cause. The capture of Maloun, by General Ochterlony, May 1815, was the first very decided advantage gained. The whole of the forts between the Jamnah and the Satlaj were then yielded to the British, and Garhwál was evacuated.

§ 56. Negotiations for peace were now set on foot, and though retarded by the insincerity of the Nepál Court, resulted at length in a treaty of peace, by which the territories of the Nepál State were reduced to their present dimensions (1816).

§ 57. The events of Lord Hastings' administration, as connected with the Mahratta history, have been detailed in Chapter V. They include—

(1) the treacheries and fall of Báji Ráo II.;
(2) the Pindári war;
(3) the treachery and fall of Appá Saheb, Rájá of Nágpur;
(4) the restoration of the Rájá of Sátára;
(5) the treaties by which the houses of Sindia and Holkár were deprived of all power of disturbing the tranquillity of India, while their own independence was secured.

In these wars twenty-eight actions were fought in the field, one hundred and twenty forts captured; and nineteen treaties made with Native Princes.

§ 58. The Marquis now retired (1823). Besides his elevation in the peerage, an estate of £60,000 was given him; and at his death (in 1827), a further sum of £20,000 was placed in the hands of trustees for the benefit of his son.

PART VIII. EARL AMHERST. A. D. 1823—1828.

§ 59. Lord Amherst, Governor-General. § 60. Causes of the First Burmese War. § 61. The Campaign in Barmah. § 62. The Treaty of Yendabú. § 63. The Barrackpur Mutiny. § 64. Disputed Succession in Bhartpur. § 65. Bhartpur taken by Storm. § 66. Retirement of Lord Amherst.

§ 59. Mr. Canning was nominated to succeed the Marquis of Hastings; but being appointed Foreign Secretary, he declined

the nomination; and Lord Amherst became the eighth Governor-General. He landed in Calcutta, August 1, 1823. Mr. Adam acted in the meanwhile (January 1 to August 1, 1823).

§ 60. Lord Amherst's first undertaking was the war with *Barmah*. An adventurer called Alompra, in 1753, obtained possession of Ava, enlarged the Barmese territories, subjugated Arakán and Manipur, and placed Assám under a Barmese chief. There were many causes of complaint against the Court of Ava; but in 1818, a formal demand was made by the Barmese for the cession of Chittagong, Murshidábád, and Dacca, as belonging to the ancient kingdom of Arakán. This was, of course, treated with contempt. In 1823, the island of Sháhpúrí was occupied by thirteen sepoys, for the protection of British subjects. A body of a thousand Barmese expelled them. Kachár was next attacked, and British troops were sent to aid the fugitive Rájá. The arrogance of the Barmese was unbounded, and it became necessary to send an expedition to thoroughly humble them.

§ 61. The Bengal and Madras troops met at Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andamans, in May 1824; and sailed at once to the mouth of the Rangún river. Sir Archibald Campbell was in command. Rangún was taken. The stockades at Kemendín were stormed, Major R. Sale (the hero of Jalálábád) being the first to scale them. Negrais and Cheduba were then carried. Ten stockades were stormed in one day. Martabán was taken, and successful expeditions were undertaken in the Tenasserim coast and in Assam. Early in 1825, the most noted Barmese chief, Mahá Bandula, now appeared on the scene. At the capture of Donabew, that leader was killed by a rocket. Sir Archibald pushed on to Prom. Meanwhile Arakán was gallantly taken by another body of troops. Negotiations for peace were now entered into, but broken off by the refusal of the king of Ava to make any concession. The British force advanced, under great difficulties, to Patanagoh, where a treaty was nearly concluded; but again broken off. Mellún, its opposite bank, was then stormed; and the troops advanced to the city of Pagahn, where a decisive victory was gained by a British force of two thousand against a Barmese army of 18,000. The English prisoners were now released (1826).

§ 62. Finally, at Yendabú, within four days' march of the capital, a treaty was signed, by which the king of Ava agreed to give up all claims to Assám, Kachár, and Jaintiá; to cede Arakán, Rámrí, Cheduba, and Sandoway, the provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim, the Salwín river being the boundary; and to pay a crore of rupees as a partial indemnification for the expenses of the war, and as a proof of the "sincere disposition of the Barmese Government to maintain the relations of amity and peace between the two nations."

§ 63. Connected with the *First Barmese War* was the disgraceful Barrackpur mutiny. The 47th Regiment of Native Infantry, resenting certain minor hardships to which they were

temporarily subjected, broke out into open mutiny. Sir E. Paget, the Commander-in-Chief, hastened to the spot, surrounded the mutineers, and on their obstinately refusing to submit, caused a battery to open upon them. They fled at once; and some who were taken prisoners were executed. The number of the regiment was erased from the list of the army.

§ 64. The taking of Bhartpur, which had been assaulted unsuccessfully by Lord Lake in 1805 [*see* Chap. V., § 100], January 18, 1826, is another event which renders this administration remarkable, and which produced a salutary feeling throughout India. Rájá Bandhar Singh died without issue in 1823. His brother Baldeo Singh succeeded. Durjan Sál, son of a younger brother, contested the succession. Sir D. Ochterlony, Resident in Málwah and Rájpútána, who died soon after, examined his claims; and the result was that the Governor-General addressed Baldeo Singh a congratulatory letter on his accession, and authorized Sir David to give him formal investiture. The Resident did so, and also acknowledged his son as his successor. Baldeo died the same month (January 26, 1825). Durjan Sál instantly took possession of the fort, murdered the uncle of the young Rájá, and seized his person. Sir C. Metcalfe now arrived from Haidarábád to occupy the position of Resident of Dehli and of Rájpútána. The Governor-General was opposed to interference; but the paper submitted by the new Resident, and the opinions of the Council, effected a change of his sentiments. It was evident that Durjan Sál relied upon the supposed impregnability of the fortress of Bhartpur; and supposed with truth that all who disliked British ascendancy in India wished him success in his defiance of the paramount power.

§ 65. Lord Combermere, Commander-in-Chief, marched from Mattra, and the memorable siege began on the 28th December 1825. The fort was stormed on the 18th January 1826. The young Rájá was reinstated, and peace restored.

§ 66. Earl Amherst, who can hardly be numbered among the eminent rulers of British India, quitted India in March 1828; Mr. Butterworth Bayley, one of Lord Wellesley's disciples, acting as Governor-General until his successor arrived.

PART IX. LORD WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK.

A. D. 1828—1835.

§ 67. Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General. § 68. Summary of the Events of his Administration. § 69. His Character. § 70. Mysor Affairs. § 71. Kúrg Affairs. § 72. Retrenchments. § 73. Judicial Reforms. § 74. Abolition of *Sati*. § 75. Suppression of Thuggee. § 76. Proceedings of Thugs. § 77. Educational Reforms. § 78. The Overland Route between England and India. § 79. The North-West Provinces placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. § 80. Rámmohan Rái. § 81. Murder of Mr. Frazer. § 82. Treaty with Ranjít Singh. § 83. The Charter of 1833. § 84. Departure of Lord W. Bentinck. § 85. Sir Charles Metcalfe, Acting Governor-General.

§ 67. Lord W. Bentinck, the ninth Governor-General, arrived in India in July 1827, and quitted it in March 1835.

§ 68. Lord W. Bentinck's administration was distinguished by progress, improvement, necessary reforms, the sweeping away of obsolete and injurious institutions, and the introduction of an enlightened and philanthropic policy.

Its chief event were—

(1) The re-arrangement of Mysor affairs; and the annexation of Kúrg in 1833, after a ten days' war;

(2) Many economical reforms;

(3) Improvements in the judicial system;

(4) Abolition of *Sati*, and the repression of *Thuggee*;

(5) The downfall of the oriental system of education and the establishment of the European system;

(6) Commencement of steam communication with India;

(7) The assassination of Mr. Frazer at Dehli, and its punishment;

(8) Disturbances in Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Bhopál; and

(9) The renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833.

§ 69. Lord W. Bentinck had been Governor of Madras, and was harshly and abruptly recalled in 1807. He was singularly benevolent, upright, firm, and liberal. He was anxious for this appointment, as tending to free his reputation from any stain that might be supposed to rest upon it from his former dismissal. It did so. A statue erected to his honour in Calcutta, with an inscription from the pen of Macaulay, preserves the remembrance of "*his wise, upright, and paternal administration.*"

§ 70. The government of Mysor was at this time assumed by the British Government; and the province was placed under the system which still so efficiently provides for its welfare [*see* Chap. XII].

§ 71. The principality of Kúrg, on the confines of Mysor, is of great antiquity. It was subdued by Haidar; and in 1779, the heir, Vira Rájendra, was excluded from the succession and

imprisoned. Tippú made him a Musalmán by force: but he escaped, and after a long and chivalrous struggle regained his dominions in 1787. His nephew, Víra Rájendra Udaiyár, was Rájá in 1832. He was a madman. Incest and wholesale murders are among the crimes of which he was guilty. Of the royal house he left no male alive. At length he defied the British authority; and when every means of conciliation had been exhausted, troops were sent; after a short struggle, Merkára was taken possession of, and the Rájá imprisoned for life at Benares. As this monster's cruelty had removed every one who could have any pretensions to succeed him, the State came under direct British Government.

§ 72. Lord W. Bentinck had to perform the unpleasant task of carrying out extensive reductions and reforms in the civil and military establishments of the Company. The first was the abolition of *batta*, or reduction of it to one-half the former amount. This was an *allowance* given to the army when in the field—double, when they marched beyond the Company's frontier, and reduced to a half when in cantonments where quarters were provided for them. This measure aroused much indignation. Lord Combermere opposed it, and resigned. The Duke of Wellington and the Home Government strongly upheld it. The measure was wholly of home origin, and had been urged on preceding Governors-General. Committees were also appointed, which reduced the annual civil expenditure by about half a million sterling, and the military by about one million.

§ 73. Judicial reforms were also introduced, tending to relieve European functionaries from the overwhelming pressure of work. The whole system in regard to criminal justice was remodelled. *Sadar Amíns* were appointed, who were empowered to decide cases to the value of 5,000 rupees, and to receive appeals from the inferior Amíns. The vernacular languages were substituted for the Persian in all Courts. A Court of Appeal was created at Allahábád, for the Upper Provinces. The revenue settlements of the North-West Provinces were skilfully carried out.

§ 74. Lord William's name is more closely connected with the abolition of "suttee," or *satí*. "Satí" means a "virtuous woman." It is a term applied to the woman who immolates herself on the funeral pile of her deceased husband.

This barbarous superstition had prevailed for centuries, though really unsanctioned by Hindú authorities [*see* Chap. I. § 21, 32, 65]; and the rulers were afraid to interfere. Lord Wellesley wished to restrain it, and some cautionary measures were partially enforced. Lord W. Bentinck and his two councillors, Mr. Butterworth Bayley and Sir C. Metcalfe, caused an enactment to be promulgated, making it a punishable crime in any way to aid and abet a *satí*. Police officers were authorized to prevent it, and to apprehend all persons engaged in such a transaction. Thus was this horrible crime put an end to. In Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa the number of victims had averaged 600 a year!

§ 75. The active measures adopted for the extirpation of the bands of *thugs*, which then infested Central India, were a boon to the whole country. These were said by tradition to have sprung from seven tribes, all of the Muhammadan religion, living near Dehli. They nevertheless especially devoted themselves to the worship of Kálí Deví, or Bhavání, the wife of Siva, who is represented in legends of the Puránas as having appeared in various terrific shapes for the destruction of demons. Human sacrifices are supposed to be especially pleasing to her. Added to this, the Thugs were fatalists, of the most thorough kind.

§ 76. These wretches travelled in bands, and were accustomed to decoy travellers passing through the forests of Central India, by assuming the garb of peaceable pilgrims or merchants. When a favourable opportunity presented itself, they threw a noose round the neck of their victim, strangled, robbed, and buried him in an incredibly short space of time, every precaution being taken to make the murder absolutely secret. Thus, multitudes of travellers were perpetually vanishing from the earth, and leaving no trace behind them. To the Thug this was his profession, his religion, his lawful calling. From time to time the Company's government had striven to check these practices; but in 1829, Major Sleeman, afterwards Sir William Sleeman, one of the great philanthropists of the British Indian rule, was appointed Commissioner for the extermination of Thuggee. Others were appointed to aid him; and the result has been the almost absolute suppression of the crime.

§ 77. The "oriental system of education" was made to give way to the "European system," by a resolution of Government that "all the funds appropriated to the purposes of education, should be employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language alone." The new school went too far, and it was reserved for Lord Auckland to correct the error [§ 86]; but there can be no doubt that immense sums were wasted in the endowment of oriental scholarships and in translations into Sanskrit and Arabic. The great impulse to Native Education must be given through English, as the key to all modern science. It is for well-educated natives to revive and enrich their own vernacular literature; and thereby to render possible a wholesome system of education for the masses of India, who can only be reached through the vernacular languages.

§ 78. The commencement of steam communication with India, constitutes a great era in the history of English connection with the East; and, in fact, in the history of half the globe. The *Hugh Lindsay* made the first voyage from Bombay to Suez. In 1834, the matter was taken up by the House of Commons, and the result has been a system, ever improving, and in 1868, conferring upon all India the boon of a regular weekly communication with England; the time occupied in the transmission of letters being from 28 to 30 days.

§ 79. Lord W. Bentinck spent a part of 1834 at Utakamand, on the Nilgiri Hills [*see* Introduction, § 6]; during which time the orders were promulgated, which constituted Agrah a distinct government, under a Lieutenant-Governor. At this time also all restrictions upon the settlement of Europeans in India were removed.

§ 80. In 1833, Rámmohan Roy (or *Rái*), a distinguished native scholar and reformer, died at Bristol. Unfortunately he allowed himself to become the agent of the king of Dehli, who sent him to England to endeavour to obtain an increase to the king's stipend. He was thus lost to his countrymen.

§ 81. In 1834, Mr. Frazer, Political Commissioner and Agent of the Governor-General at Dehli, was shot dead by an assassin. He had offended Shams-ud-dín Khán, the Nawáb of Fírúzpur, who instigated the murder. The Nawáb and his tool were both hanged at Dehli.

§ 82. During Lord W. Bentinck's administration, a fear of Russian intrigues in the countries north-west of the Indus, led the British Government to interfere in the politics of the Panjáb, Sind, and Afghánistán. Negotiations were carried on with the various princes through whose territories the Indus flows, for the free passage of vessels laden with British merchandise. Treaties for this object were made with the Amírs of Sind, the Rájá of Bháwálpur, and with Ranjít Singh, the ruler of Láhor. The Governor-General met this great chieftain at Ropar on the Satlaj in 1831 [*see* Chap. XI., § 11]. The result seems to have been that Ranjít Singh espoused the cause of the ex-king of Kábul, Sháh Sújá.

§ 83. The Company's Charter expired in 1834. In prospect of this, Parliamentary committees were appointed to investigate the Company's management of its extensive affairs. It was almost unanimously agreed that *the monopoly of the China trade* should be abandoned. Thus the Company ceased to possess any commercial character. It was also decided that the political functions of the Company should not be disturbed for twenty years. The result of the extinction of the Company, as a commercial body, was beneficial.

The trade with China doubled in ten years, and the British exports to India and Ceylon increased in the same period from 2½ millions to 6¾. The dividends of the Company were guaranteed by Parliament at £630,000 a year, to be entirely redeemable in 1874. Agrah was made the capital of a fourth Presidency, and Sir C. Metcalfe appointed to it; but in 1835, this was changed, and the North-Western Provinces have been administered by a Lieutenant-Governor from that time [§ 79]. The new Charter was granted in August 1833. It came into force in April 1834.

§ 84. Lord W. Bentinck left India in May 1835.

§ 85. Sir C. Metcalfe succeeded provisionally, being Senior Member of Council in Calcutta at the time.

He had early distinguished himself as envoy (1808) to the Court of Ranjít Singh [*see* § 49, and Chap. XI., § 11], and afterwards as Resident at Dehli (to 1819) and at Haidarábád (to 1827.) Thence he went to Calcutta as Member of Council. He was afterwards Governor of Jamaica (1839 to 1841), and Governor-General of Canada (1843 to 1845). The one great act of this administration, which lasted till August 1836, was the *Liberation of the Press.* The press at first was subject to a censorship, then to certain stringent rules drawn up by the Government. It was now freed from all restrictions but those of the laws that govern all orders of men in the realm. Macaulay, as Member of Council, supported the measure.

PART X. LORD AUCKLAND. A. D. 1836—1842.

§ 86. Summary of the Events of Lord Auckland's Administration § 87. Oudh Affairs. § 88. Supersession of the Rájá of Sátára. § 89 State of Afghánistán. § 90. Persian Intrigues. § 91. Sháh Shujá to be restored. § 92. Sir W. Macnaghten. § 93. Defeat of the Persians. § 94. Enthronement of Sháh Shujá. § 95. Ghazní and Kábul taken. § 96. Return of the Main Army. § 97. Completion of the Conquest of Afghánistán. § 98. Revolt of the Khiljís. § 99. The Kábul Massacre. § 100. The Disastrous Retreat. § 101. Defence of Jalálábád. § 102. The First Chinese War. § 103. Retirement of Lord Auckland.

§ 86. Lord Auckland, the tenth Governor-General, arrived in India in March 1836, and left it in March 1842. His administration is marked by the following events:—

(1). The disputed succession in Oudh, 1837;
(2). The supersession of the treacherous Rájá of Sátára;
(3). The Afghán expedition and disasters;
(4). The occupation of Karnúl; and
(5). The first Chinese War.

§ 87. Násir-ud-dín Haidar, king of Oudh, a profligate and weak prince, died in July 1837. Two persons had been acknowledged by him as his sons, but afterwards disavowed. The Begam wished that the elder of these should succeed. The British Resident supported the claim of an uncle of the deceased king, Násir-uddaulah. An insurrection was headed by the Begam, but soon put down.

§ 88. For an account of the Rájá of Sátára, *see* Chap. V., § 121. The Rájá was deposed by Sir James Carnac in 1839. His brother was placed on the throne in his stead. Treachery distinguished the whole dynasty.

§ 89. The Afghán expedition is a more important subject. The lands between Persia and the Indus, inhabited by warlike hordes, have often given conquerors to India, from Mahmúd of Ghazní to Ahmád Sháh Abdáli. The Chief of these tribes was

the king of Kábul. When Mountstuart Elphinstone visited Kábul in 1808, the sovereign was *Sháh Shujá*, a descendant of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. This king was dethroned shortly after; and the states of Afghánistán were divided among various members of a family called the *Bárakzai* tribe. The most powerful of these was *Dost Muhammad*, who possessed Kábul and Ghazní. Sháh Shujá, the ex-king, lived in Ludhiánah in exile, under the protection of the British power; in fact, he had a pension of 4,000 rupees a month from that Government. An expedition he made in 1834 was unsuccessful, owing to the bravery of Dost Muhammad.

§ 90. Soon after this, Persia began to aim at the subjugation of all these provinces up to the Indus, and began by a king Harát. The Russian Government encouraged the Sháh of Persia in these undertakings; and there was a prospect that all Western Asia would soon form one vast confederacy, under Russian influence, thus threatening the tranquillity of British India. The question was. "*Shall England interfere in matters beyond the Indus?*"—*And, if so, how?* Captain Burnes (afterwards Sir Alexander Burnes), who had been sent as envoy to Kábul, did much by his representations to determine the British authorities to the policy of active interference.

§ 91. Lord Auckland resolved to restore Sháh Shujá, whose claims were better founded than those of Dost Muhammad, and whose cause was believed to be more popular in Afghánistán. A treaty was signed between Ranjít Singh, Sháh Shujá, and the British, in June 1838, and a British force was marched to the Indus, for the invasion of Afghánistán.

This army, called the army of the Indus, was drawn from all three presidencies, and was under the command of Sir John Keane. One division of it was called the Sháh's army; and the other the Sháhzádeh's, being nominally under the command of Tímúr, the son of Sháh Shujá.

§ 92. Mr. W. H. Macnaghten was appointed envoy and minister at the Court of Sháh Shujá. He was a profound oriental scholar, and had served in many capacities with honour, and was the Secretary to the Supreme Government.

§ 93. Meanwhile, the Sháh of Persia's army, 40,000 strong, which had laid siege to Harát, the gate of Afghánistán, was compelled to retreat, mainly through the genius and gallantry of Eldred Pottinger. This led to a reduction of the forces sent to Afghánistán, and might well have put an end to the enterprise.

§ 94. The "Sháh's army" marched from Firúzpur in December, crossed the Indus, took possession of Bakkhar, thence to Shikárpur, to Dádar, at the entrance of the Bolan pass, and to Kettah, where it arrived, March 26, 1839, and was followed by the Bombay force in April. Karáchi was taken in February by a naval armament. The army passed on to Kandahár, where all had arrived early in May. There Sháh Shujá was solemnly enthroned. The march had been one of terrible privation, bravely borne. While the force was recruiting at Kandahár, tidings

reached them of the death of the Panjáb lion, Ranjít Singh, 27th June 1839.

§ 95. The force now marched on towards Kábul, and were surprised to find Ghazní a well fortified city. They had no battering train; but the Kábul gate was blown open with a charge of 300lbs. of gunpowder. Brigadier Sale (the immortal hero of Jalálábád) and Colonel Dennie were among the foremost of a band of heroes who stormed the fortress. The army moved on and entered Kábul, August 7th, Dost Muhammad having fled beyond it to Bukhára. An auxiliary force which had marched through the Khaibar pass, having taken Alí Masjid and Jalálábád by the way, arrived at Kábul early in September.

§ 96. The Sháh being thus restored to his kingdom, the army was sent back. General Nott and Colonel Sale remaining with a part of the Bengal force to defend the newly restored king. The Bombay force, under General Willshire, on their homeward way, took Kalát, in Biluchistán, the Khán of which place had most treacherously attacked the army on its march towards Kábul.

§ 97. Lord Auckland was now rewarded by being created Earl of Auckland. Sir John Keane was made Lord Keane of Ghazní. Mr. Macnaghten and Colonel Henry Pottinger (afterwards Governor of Madras) were created baronets. Many others were knighted, among whom were Robert Sale and Alexander Burnes. A great many severe and sometimes disastrous conflicts had to be engaged in before Afghánistán was subdued. The last was at Parwán, a village in the Panjshu valley, near the Ghorband pass, where Dost Muhammad sustained a final defeat, and surrendered himself to Sir W. Macnaghten. (November 1, 1840.)

§ 98. Profound peace prevailed from that time till the beginning of October 1841. Sir William had been nominated to the Governorship of Bombay, and was on the eve of departure, when the Khiljí chiefs revolted. Sir R. Sale was marching to Jalálábád, on his return to India, and was encountered by the insurgents. He forced the Kúrd Kábul pass, and made his way with continual fighting to Jalálábád (November 12), which he found invested on every side by hordes of enemies. Afghánistán had risen. Jalálábád was a ruinous fortress; but Sale soon put everything into such a state as to defy his countless enemies.

§ 99. Meanwhile at Kábul the storm broke on the morning of 2nd November. Sir Alexander Burnes was assassinated, with his brother and other officers. There were brave men at Kábul; but an unaccountable apathy seized upon those in command. General Elphinstone, the chief military authority, was old and incapable. Days passed, and the insurrection was allowed to gather strength. Sir W. Macnaghten seems to have retained his energy and coolness; but he could not command the army. Negotiations were commenced with the insurgent chiefs; and at length Sir W. Macnaghten was induced to meet Muhammad Akbar Khán, a son of Dost Muhammad. This chieftain had deceitfully

offered to put an end to the insurrection, upon being assured of the situation of vazír to Sháh Shujá, and receiving an immense pecuniary reward. At the conference the British envoy was shot by Akbar Khán; and three officers who were with him were seized, and one of them put to death. Even this did not arouse the military authorities. They agreed to bind the British Government to pay fourteen lakhs as ransom, to evacuate the country, and to restore the deposed king. Against this humiliating agreement, Major Eldred Pottinger, acting as Political Agent, protested, but in vain.

§ 100. On the morning of the 6th January 1842, the miserable retreat began. Sháh Shujá was left behind. (He was for a time acknowledged as king; but in April 1842, he was shot, and his body thrown into a ditch.) Incredible disorder, piercing cold, want of every necessary of life, and the constant attacks of the Afgháns who hovered around, rendered this march one of continual disaster. They struggled through the tremendous pass of Kúrd Kábul, and a hot fire was opened on them by Khiljís on the heights. 3,000 perished in the pass. Now Akbar Khán appeared again on the scene. He offered to take charge of all the ladies and married officers, and escort them safely to Jalálábád. To this at length they were obliged to consent, and thus General Elphinstone, Colonel Shelton, Colonel Palmer, Majors Pottinger and Griffiths, with Lady Sale, Lady Macnaghten, and a few others, became prisoners in the hands of the murderer of Sir W. Macnaghten. Of the remainder only one, Dr. Brydon, arrived at Jalálábád to tell of the fate of the thousands who had left Kábul.

§ 101. At this time, it must be remembered, General Nott was maintaining his post at Kandahár, Sir R. Sale was at Jalálábád, and General Pollock was at Pesháwar, with an army destined to force its way through the Khaibar pass to rescue Sale and his companions. The sequel of the history must be reserved for the next part.

§ 102. The history of Lord Auckland's administration would not be complete without some account of the First Chinese War. The cause of it was the smuggling of opium into China by English merchants. The Emperor of China, in order to check the pernicious habit of opium eating and smoking among his subjects, had laid a very heavy duty on this drug. In putting down the smuggling of opium, which naturally became frequent, the Chinese authorities committed unwarranted outrages on the ships and subjects of Great Britain. To avenge these outrages, and to put the Chinese trade on a proper footing, the war was undertaken. Troops from India, under Sir Hugh Gough, were sent; and after a series of brilliant exploits, were successful in bringing the Chinese to terms. By the treaty of Nankin, the island of Hong-Kong was made over to England, and four ports were opened to European ships.

§ 103. Lord Auckland left India on the 12th March 1842. His name is connected inseparably with the Afghán expedition.

But the impression he left in India was that he possessed high qualities, and might have done much for the country, had his lot not been cast in troublous times, when the fear of Russian aggression hurried England into this ill-fated undertaking. At the beginning of this war, there was, owing in part to his good management, a clear balance in the treasury of ten millions sterling.

PART XI. LORD ELLENBOROUGH. A. D. 1842—1844.

§ 104. Summary of the Events of Lord Ellenborough's Administration. § 105. Progress of the Afghán War. § 106. The Disasters retrieved by General Pollock. § 107. Settlement of Afghánistán. § 108. Disputed Succession in Gwáliár. § 109. Battles of Mahárájpur and Punniár. § 110. Causes of the Sind War. § 111. Sir Charles Napier's Conquests. § 112. Settlement of Sind. § 113. Retirement of Lord Ellenborough.

§ 104. Lord Ellenborough arrived in Calcutta, February 28, 1842. He had been President of the Board of Control. His administration is remarkable for—

(1). The measures adopted to retrieve the national honour in Afghánistán;

(2). The short struggle with the Gwáliár State;

(3). The conquest of Sind.

§ 105. In March 1842, Ghazní was evacuated by the British troops, almost all of whom perished. Jalálábád held out. The annals of warfare contain few things more glorious. An earthquake added to the miseries of this heroic garrison, throwing down defences that had cost them months of labor. Yet not only did they maintain the fort; but, issuing forth, drove Akbar Khán away, and burnt his camp. The heroic Colonel Dennie fell in this sortie. Major Proudfoot and Captain (Sir Henry) Havelock were the most resolute and energetic among the defenders of the Fortress.

General Pollock, with the relieving army, forced the Kháibar pass on the 5th April, and soon after reached Jalálábád.

General Nott, meanwhile, gallantly held Kandahár. A body of troops under General England advanced through the Bolan pass to Kettah; but he was driven back in an attempt to advance to relieve General Nott. A second effort was more successful, and he reached Kandahár.

The unfortunate Sháh Shujá was murdered in April at Kábul.

§ 106. General Pollock now moved on to Kábul, where he arrived on the 15th of September. Continual attacks of the enemy were repulsed, and glorious victories atoned for the disgraces of the British arms on this same route a year before.

General Nott, having sent a portion of his troops back to India, by way of Kettah, now marched with the remainder to meet General Pollock at Kábul. Several smart engagements were fought against Shams-ud-dín, in which complete and signal success crowned the English arms. Ghazní was taken, and its citadel utterly destroyed. The gates of the tomb of Mahmúd of Ghazní, which had eight centuries before been taken from the temple of Sómnath [*see* Chap. II., § 10], were carried off, and finally deposited in the fort at Agrah. Nott joined Pollock at Kábul, September 5.

§ 107. The prisoners in the hands of Akbar Khán were recovered, and joined Sir R. Sale, at the Urgandí pass, on the 20th September. It had been Akbar Khán's intention to take them to Túrkistán, and there to sell them for slaves; but their keeper Saleh Muhammad Khán was bribed to restore them. Sir R. Sale thus recovered his wife and daughter on his 50th birthday.

Great numbers of the Afgháns had retired to Istaliff. Thither the British troops followed, stormed the fort, and recovered vast quantities of property stolen from the British in Kábul. The army was now withdrawn from Afghánistán, and arrived without serious molestation at Fírúzpur. Dost Muhammad and the other prisoners were released, and the whole scheme was definitely abandoned. One portion of the history is humiliating; but the whole leaves on the mind a vivid impression of the indomitable courage and boundless resources of the final conquerors.

§ 108. The troubles at Gwáliár next demand attention. Daulat Ráo Sindia died in 1827. His widow governed as guardian of her adopted son Jankoji till 1833, when he assumed the actual management. He died, February 1843, childless. His widow adopted Bhágírat Ráo, a relative; and a contest for the regency commenced between the Maháráni and Máma Saheb, an uncle of the deceased chief. The Resident espoused the cause of the latter, whom the Queen notwithstanding expelled.

§ 109. It was evident that affairs in Gwáliár were fast tending to a state of such utter disorganization as would have disturbed the peace of the surrounding countries. There was in the city an army of 30,000 infantry, and 10,000 horse, with 200 cannon, and the officers mostly men of European descent. At Láhor too there was an army of 70,000 Síkhs, officered by Europeans, anxious for some pretext for crossing the Satlaj. The troubles in the Panjáb had begun [Chap. XI., § 13]. The Governor-General rightly judged that prompt interference was necessary. British troops, accompanied by Lord Ellenborough himself, advanced across the Chambal, and unexpectedly found the Gwáliár army drawn up at *Maháráj pur*. Sir H. Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, had under him Generals Littler, Valiant, and Dennis. A complete victory was gained, but with severe loss. Sir Hugh says in his despatch that he had not "done justice to the gallantry of his opponents."

On the same day another victory was gained at *Punniár* by Major-General Grey. In these battles the guns, standards, ammunition, and treasure of the enemy were taken; and there was nothing left them but to throw themselves on the clemency of their conquerors. A council of regency was formed, the British contingent was increased, the debts owed by Sindia's government to the English were paid, and affairs were put on such a footing as to afford a prospect of stability and tranquillity to the Gwáliár state.

§ 110. The conquest of SIND, and its wise government by its conqueror, Sir Charles Napier, render this period memorable.

In 1786, Sind was seized by a tribe of Bilúchís called Talpúrs, whose chief was Mír Fath Khán. By him the country was divided between various members of his family. Thus arose the three States of Haidárábád, Khairpur, and Mirpur, in each of which a plurality of Amírs held sway. Every attempt to trade with the country was discouraged by these Amírs, who drove away the chief of the British factory from Tatta, where an establishment had existed from 1799.

In 1809, a treaty between the Amírs and Lord Minto had been signed. In 1820, another treaty permitted free intercourse and trade. In 1832, the Indus was thrown open, as the result of Sir Henry Pottinger's Mission. In 1838, a British Resident was appointed to Haidarábád, and the State was thus secured from the attacks of Ranjít Singh. The Amírs seem to have been thoroughly hostile and treacherous; and an attack upon the residency, which Sir James Outram defended with consummate bravery, brought matters to an issue.

§ 111. In October 1842, Sir Charles Napier was sent to Sind as Commander-in-Chief and plenipotentiary; and he took measures at once to seize and destroy the desert stronghold of Imángarh, whither one of the leading Amírs had fled. Sir Charles then advanced to MIANI, a place six miles from Haidarábád, where the Sindian army was entrenched. A victory was gained, after which six of the Amírs, three of Khairpur, and three of Haidarábád, surrendered themselves. Sher Muhammad of Mirpur was still in arms, and against him the battle of Haidarábád was fought on the 24th March, and resulted in a complete victory to the British troops. Mirpur was then occupied, and Amarkot, (the birthplace of Akbar) was taken.

§ 112. Sind was now taken possession of: the Amírs whose tyrannous assumption had lasted about sixty years, were sent to Benares with liberal pensions: the Indus was fully opened, and "Little Egypt" (as Sind is called) began a new career of unexampled prosperity. The feeling however then prevailed, and posterity will deliberately confirm the opinion, that the war was unrighteous. It is the one annexation, upon which the British nation can look with no satisfaction.

§ 113. Lord Ellenborough returned to Calcutta in February 1844, and set himself vigorously to the task of governing the

empire, the bounds of which he had so much enlarged. But in a few months he was recalled by the Court of Directors, from whom he had differed on many points. This was an extreme exercise of power on the part of the Court; and it was censured by the country generally; but the wisdom of their choice of a successor reconciled the nation to this vigorous act. Lord Ellenborough left Calcutta in August 1844. He was ambitious, fond of display, and self-reliant, but a true friend of the army, and a man of undoubted genius. To Mr. Wilberforce Bird, his second in Council, many useful measures, such as the extinction of slavery in India, are due.

PART XII. LORD HARDINGE. A. D. 1844—1847.

§ 114. Summary of Lord Hardinge's Administration. § 115. The first Panjáb War. § 116. Settlement of the Panjáb. § 117. Kashmír. § 118. Peaceful State of India. § 119. Suppression of Cruel Customs. § 120. Promotion of Trade. § 121. Other Useful Measures.

§ 114. *Sir Henry* (afterwards Lord) *Hardinge* succeeded Lord Ellenborough in 1844. He was a highly distinguished soldier and statesman, an intimate friend of the Duke of Wellington, one who had fought in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, where he lost an arm. The great events of his administration are connected with the *First Panjáb War*, and its four battles gained in fifty-four days,—*Múdki*, *Fírúzsháh*, *Aliwál*, and *Sobráon*; and with the efforts to put down infanticide, human sacrifices, &c., in Gúmsar.

§ 115. At this time the Panjáb was in a state of miserable anarchy [*see* Chap. XI., § 14]. Sir H. Hardinge desired peace; but war was forced upon him. The Síkhs were the aggressors. They crossed the Satlaj, December 1845. They were repulsed, December 18, at *Múdkí* by Lord Gough; again December 21st, and 22nd, at *Fírúzsháh*, by Lord Gough and Lord Hardinge after a very severe contest; again 28th January 1846, by Sir Harry Smith at *Aliwál*; and finally by Lord Gough, Lord Hardinge, and the whole British forces, at *Sobráon*, February 10th, 1846 after a most gallant and determined resistance.

§ 116. Dhúlíp Singh, the youngest son of Ranjít Singh, was now recognised as Rájá of the Panjab; the Doáb between the Beyah and the Satlaj (the Jallandar Doáb) was annexed to British Empire; an indemnity for the expenses of this unprovoked war was paid by the Síkhs. Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Gough were both raised to the peerage as a reward for their gallant exploits.

§ 117. Kashmír was then made over to Guláb Singh, a Rájpút, the most prominent Síkh leader, who paid £1,000,000 of the tribute. His son now rules over that province, and measures for the improvement of the country have been adopted at the suggestion of the British Government.

§ 118. It seemed as if wars must now cease in the Indian possessions of England. Between February 1843 and February 1846, eight great battles had been fought, and the three armies of Sind, Gwáliár, and the Panjáb, numbering 1,20,000 men annihilated. For a few years India enjoyed peace, the fruit of war. A large reduction in the army was now made.

§ 119. Lord Hardinge's administration was happily marked by vigorous, and ultimately successful, attempts to put down Thuggee, infanticide, *Satí*, and human sacrifices. These horrible crimes were still committed in many parts of India; but in Gumsar and some other parts of Orissa and Gondwána, among the Khonds and other hill tribes, the most revolting cruelties were often perpetrated. The chief of these was called the Meriah sacrifice. The Khonds, according to Captain Macpherson's report, sacrificed as many as twenty-five human victims at one festival. These were kidnapped, or bought; and were tortured, before being actually sacrificed, with every refinement of cruelty. This has now been effectually put down, chiefly by Captain Macpherson, Colonel Campbell, and their assistants.

§ 120. Free trade was promoted; duties paid for the introduction of merchandise into some of the large towns, such as Ludhiánah, Ambála, and Súrat were abolished; and the real prosperity of the country was promoted, by this noble ruler, who was as wise and beneficent an administrator, as he was a brave and determined warrior.

§ 121. The Táj Mahál at Agrah and other architectural remains were repaired and restored; and every means adopted to check the rash and careless habits by which the many interesting monuments of past times were being destroyed in various parts of the land. The Engineering College at Rúrkí, planned by the benevolent and laborious Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, Mr. Thomason, was sanctioned and promoted by Lord Hardinge. Scarcely any Governor-General gained so much influence over the minds of men in India as did this admirable man. He left Calcutta early in 1848, after a government of forty-two months' duration.

PART XIII. EARL OF DALHOUSIE. A. D. 1848—1856.

§ 122. Summary of the Events of Lord Dalhousie's rule. § 123. His Policy. § 124. The Second Síkh War. § 125. Annexation of the Panjáb. § 126. The Second Barmese War. § 127. Railways and Telegraphs. § 128. Annexation of Nágpur. § 129. Events of 1855. § 130. Annexation of Oudh. § 131. Lord Dalhousie's Return.

§ 122. The Earl of Dalhousie, thirteenth Governor-General, arrived in Calcutta, early in 1848, departed early in 1856. He died soon after, worn out with his Indian work.

The chief events of his administration were (1) the *2nd Panjáb War*, and its *two battles* and *one siege*. [*See* Chap. XI., Part 4].

Chillianwallah	...	January 13, 1849.
Gujrát	...	February 21, „
Multán taken	...	January 21, „

(2) The commencement of railways and electric telegraphs in India.

(3) The *2nd Barmese war*. Pegu annexed. 1852.

(4) Peace with Dost Muhammad, 1855.

(5) Annexation of Oudh. 1856.

(6) Tanjor and Nágpur lapsed for wants of heirs. 1856.

§ 123. Lord Dalhousie came out as a "peace Governor," as many before him had done, whom circumstances hurried into war. When war broke out a second time in the Panjáb, the Governor-General said in Calcutta, "I have wished for peace; I have longed for it; I have striven for it. But if the enemies of India desire war, war they shall have; and, on my word, they shall have it with a vengeance."

§ 124. The Second Panjáb War began with the outbreak in Multán [Chap. XI., § 21.] under Mulráj (April 1848). Messrs. Agnew and Anderson were basely murdered. A conspiracy was formed in Láhor, at the same time, to massacre all the British officers in the Panjáb, and to make a complete revolution in the province. Lieutenant Edwardes (afterwards Sir Herbert Edwardes), General Sampson Whish, Lord Gough, and General Gilbert are the names that most attract our attention in this short and glorious war.

§ 125. The result was the annexation of the Panjáb, which was placed under a Board of Commissioners, of whom Sir Henry Lawrence was president. Sir John (now Lord) Lawrence was second. Mr. Mansel and Sir R. Montgomery were the others. Under these, fifty-six gentlemen were employed as assistants. A general disarming of the people now took place. 120,000 weapons were surrendered. The result was a decrease of crime throughout the whole province. Lord Dalhousie was made a Marquis. Lord Gough, beloved by the army, left India in May 1849.

§ 126. The Second Barmese War ended in the annexation of Pegu. It arose from the oppression of British subjects by the king of Ava and his officials. The arrogance of the Barmese seems to have suffered no abatement by the first war, which was so disastrous to them. Commodore Lambert by sea, and General Godwin by land, soon brought the Barmese to their senses. In annexing Pegu (December 21, 1852) by which the kingdom of Barmah was deprived of the whole of its sea-board, Lord Dalhousie gave the king of Ava a severe lesson, secured a rich province for his country, and threw open a noble river to the trade of the world. Pegu had not been subdued by the Barmah sovereign more than about a century. The war was concluded

June 30, 1853, after lasting eighteen months, and costing a little less than two millions sterling.

§ 127. The year 1853 saw the opening of the first Indian railway, from Bombay to Thána. To Sir M. Stephenson, India is chiefly indebted for the introduction of railways. Their extension since that time has been most rapid and beneficial. Telegraphic communication, under the energetic superintendence of Dr. O'Shaughnessy (now Sir William O'Shaughnessy Brooke), began to extend itself over the length and breadth of the land.

§ 128. In December 1853, the Rájá of Nágpur died without issue. He had no heir, and had refused to adopt [Chap. V. § 115]. Lord Dalhousie, as Lord Paramount, annexed this State. This "annexation policy" has been fiercely condemned, and as warmly defended. It is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Lord Dalhousie's brilliant administration: but the "fixed principle" was not first enunciated by him; though he was called especially to act upon it.

The renewal of the Company's Charter, for the last time, occupied the attention of the Imperial Parliament during several months of 1853. The Court of Directors was reduced from thirty to eighteen; six of these were to be appointed by the Crown; civil appointments were to be thrown open to competition; the Macaulay Code was to be introduced; Bengal was put under a Lieutenant-Governor (Mr. Halliday was the first); and the Company's Sadar Courts were to be blended with Her Majesty's Supreme Courts at the Presidency towns.

§ 129. In 1855, a treaty was made with the restored Dost Muhammad; a loan for public works was opened; and the crime of torturing people to extract evidence, or to compel payments of arrears of taxes—a crime often committed by native officers—was put an end to. Of this last measure, Sir J. Lawrence in the Panjáb and Lord Harris in Madras were the most zealous promoters. An outbreak of the Santáls among the hill ranges of Rájmahál was only put down by the proclamation of martial law in the disturbed districts, and the vigorous measures of General Lloyd.

§ 130. The annexation of Oudh is the greatest event of this period. Oudh, by the treaty of 1801, was under the especial guardianship of the British power. It had been shamefully ill-governed. Intervention was a duty of common humanity. Colonel Sleeman urged it, and Lord Dalhousie, with the unanimous concurrence of his council, advised it. The Home Government commanded annexation, and Wájid Alí ceased to reign. The king receives a pension of £120,000 a year. Oudh will require another reference, before we close this history [§ 162].

§ 131. Lord Dalhousie left Calcutta, 6th March 1856, utterly broken down by eight years of unspeakable anxieties and toils. He very closely resembled, but in many points excelled, his great predecessor the Marquis of Wellesley, who governed and mightily extended the British dominions in India, fifty years before.

Every part of the empire felt his influence. The Panjáb, Pegu, and Oudh were added to our dominions. An impulse was given to every department. Every means of improving India, and of communicating to her all the advantages of western civilisation, was adopted. The name and fame of James Andrew Ramsay, Marquis of Dalhousie, who died 19th December 1860, will never perish.

PART XIV. LORD CANNING. A. D. 1856—1861.

§ 132. Lord Canning as Governor-General. § 133. Reform in the Bengal Army. § 134. Causes of the Persian War. § 135. Submission of Persia. § 136. The War in China. § 137. The Sepoy War. § 138. The first outbreaks. § 139. Emissaries of sedition. § 140. Dhundu Pant, Nánâ Saheb. § 141. Other conspirators. § 142. The Massacre at Mírat. § 143 The Delhi Massacre. § 144. Heroism of Willoughby and Scully. § 145. General mutiny. § 146. The Panjáb saved. § 147. Fidelity of the Cis-Satlaj States. § 148. State of affairs in the North-West. § 149. The Cawnpur massacre. § 150. Avenged by Neill and Havelock. § 151. They relieve Lucknow. § 152. Heroic defence of Arrah. § 153. Siege and storming of Dehli. § 154. Progress in other parts. § 155. Second relief of Lucknow. § 156. Transportation of the ex-king of Dehli. § 157. Lord Canning's clemency. § 158. Campaign in Rohilkhand. § 159 The Great March of Sir Hugh Rose. § 160. Fate of the Rebel Leaders. § 161. English Losses. § 162. Confiscation of the lands of Oudh. § 163. End of the Company's Rule. § 164. The Royal Proclamation. § 165. The Sanads of the Indian Princes.

Lord Canning, the fourteenth Governor-General, succeeded on the 29th February 1856. He was a scholar, a statesman of experience, a man of wonderful coolness, patience, and firmness. His administration may almost be said to begin and end with the "Sepoy War."

§ 133. An important, though unpopular, reform among the high caste soldiers of Bengal was carried out in 1856; all sepoys enrolled in future were to be enlisted for general service, as soldiers should be.

§ 134. The Persian war began in November 1856, and was ended by a treaty signed in Paris in March 1857. It was caused by the insolent behaviour of the Persian Court, which had never forgiven the English for hindering their acquisition of Harát. An additional treaty was signed by Dost Muhammad, by which he bound himself to aid the English against Persia, by maintaining an army of 18,000 men; the British Government paying him £120,000 *per annum* to maintain this army. Sir J. Lawrence and Major Edwardes were the main authors of this beneficial arrangement.

§ 135. The gallant Sir James Outram, the Bayárd of India, had now joined the Persian expedition as its Commander-in-Chief. On the 5th February, he drove the enemy from their intrenchments at Barasjún (46 miles from Bushair), and on the 7th, a battle was fought, in which the Persian army was well nigh annihilated. Muhámrah, commanding the passage of the Euphrates and the water approach to Ispahán, was taken on the 26th with scarcely any loss. This ended the war; a truce was granted to the prayer of the Persians, and plenipotentiaries signed a peace in Paris, March 4th. The Persians made amends for the slights they had put upon the British power, and formally renounced all claim upon Harát and Afghánistán.

§ 136. Disturbances now took place in China. The mandarins of Canton were the aggressors, and the Chinese Governor Yeh offered a reward for the head of every Englishman. After some severe reprisals, and two bombardments of Canton, Lord Elgin was sent on a special mission to Pekin. Hearing the news of the troubles in India, he brought up to Calcutta all he could spare of his troops. On his arrival at Canton, in conjunction with the French plenipotentiary, Baron Gros, he ordered an attack on that city. Yeh was taken prisoner and sent to Calcutta, where he died. The expedition then proceeded to Shanghai, and was nearing Pekin, when the childish emperor agreed to treaties with England, France, America, and Russia, by which all commercial privileges were conceded to those powers.

§ 137. Now broke out the sepoy mutiny, of which we shall give a mere outline.

The Bengal Native army had been in an unsatisfactory state for some time. Early in 1857, the new Enfield rifles were introduced into the Indian army, and the absurd report was spread abroad that the cartridges issued had been smeared with the fat of pigs and of cows that Musalmán and Hindú alike might be defiled.

§ 138. The mutiny began at Barhampur in the 19th Regiment, which was disbanded in March 1857. Soon after occurred the disgraceful circumstance which gave a name to the mutineers. A young sepoy, called Mangal Pándi of the 34th Regiment, maddened with *bhang*, rushed out of his hut, called upon his comrades to unite in defence of their religion, and levelled his piece at the Serjeant-Major. The piece missed fire; but not one soldier interfered to hinder his reloading it. He then attacked his Adjutant and another officer. He at last aimed at General Hearsay, but changing his purpose, turned his weapon against himself. He fell wounded, and ten days after was hanged with a jemadár, who had stood by without doing his duty. Mutineers after this were generally called *Pandies*.

§ 139. Fakirs and other emissaries were now in every village and bazár from the slopes of the Himálayas to Cape Comorin, spreading the most atrocious falsehoods, uttering the wildest prophecies of the extinction of British power, and striving to excite a rebellion.

§ 140. Meanwhile the adopted son of the late Peshwá (Chap. V., § 114) was the mainspring of disaffection. His secretary, Azímullah Khán, a plausible miscreant, had been sent to England as the agent of Dhúndú Pánt, and had been treated there with a foolish consideration, to which he had no right whatever. He and his master now passed hither and thither, lying and plotting.

§ 141. The old king of Dehli and his sons were ready for anything that might give them a chance of restoring the Mughul dominion, forgetting that they owed their very existence to the English, who had saved them from the Mahratta oppressor in 1803. And Mán Singh, chief of the Púrbiás, from whom very many of the sepoys were recruited, with the dispossessed Mahratta chiefs of Nágpur and Sátára were in the secret. But never were more resolute and able men in India than the Englishmen who saved the British Indian empire in that eventful crisis.

§ 142. Incendiary fires at the various cantonments, insolence of demeanour, murmurs against the officers were now constant.

The 10th May witnessed the outbreak of the rebellion at Mírat. 95 troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry had refused to use the cartridges issued, though every assurance was given them that they had been prepared in the same way as those they had always used. These men were sentenced to imprisonment for various terms. To rescue them, the natives in Mírat rose, massacred every one of European parentage of every class and age on whom they could lay hands, burnt the station, and marched off to Dehli. No adequate effort to check them was made by the old General in command.

§ 143. On the 11th May, the same horrible scenes were acted in Dehli. The Commissioner Mr. Fraser, the Captain of the King's guard, Captain Douglas, Mr. Jennings, the Residency Chaplain and his daughter, were murdered in the palace, in the sight of the king, and almost certainly with his sanction.

§ 144. Yet this scene of carnage and sickening treachery is connected with one of the grandest feats of heroism that history records. When the tidings of the Mírat massacre reached Dehli, nine officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, managed to close the gates of the arsenal, the greatest in the north-west of India. They then made some hasty preparations for defence, and laid a train of powder from the magazine to some distance. Alone, those heroes defended their post till swarms of assailants were by means of scaling ladders surmounting the walls. Then the train was fired, and the little band made their way through a sally-port on the river face, covered with wounds. They were Lieutenants Willoughby, Raynor, and Forrest; Conductors Shaw, Buckley, and Scully; Sub-Conductor Crow; Sergeants Edwards and Stewart. Scully fired the train, and was seen no more. Willoughby, their young leader, scorched and crippled, died of his wounds at Mírat. From the city many Europeans escaped; but what pen can describe the miseries of the fugitives, or the courage with which they were borne!

§ 145. The occupation of the Mughul capital by the rebels was the signal for risings and massacres in almost every station in Bengal and the North-West. Fírúzpur, Bareli, Murádábád, Sháhjahánpur, Cawnpur, Jhánsi, Benares, Allahábád, Hánsi, Hissár, Fathigarh, Dinapur, Jallandar, and many others furnished sad tales of perfidy and cruelty.

§ 146. At Láhor, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. McLeod, and Brigadier Corbett disarmed the sepoys, whose traitorous inclinations were evident, in a prompt and masterly style. At Pesháwar, Reid, Cotton, Chamberlain, Nicholson, and Edwardes, communicating with Sir John Lawrence by telegraph, disarmed the native troops; and hanged a few native officers, traitors caught in the act. These measures saved the Panjáb. The 55th Native Cavalry at Mardán mutinied. Swift, inexorable, awful punishment followed.

§ 147. Sir John Lawrence had now leisure to come to the rescue of the Cis-Satlaj stations. The Síkh chiefs stood nobly and loyally by the Paramount Power. The ruler of Kashmír; the Rájás of Kapurthala, Patiála, and Jhínd; the old Sardárs, Tej Singh, Shamsher Singh, Janáhír Singh, and many others, raised Síkh troops, and armed their retainers to aid their former foes. Thus fresh relays of troops were constantly sent from the Panjáb to the scene of action.

§ 148. Thither we must now return. "On to Dehli" was the watchword. Each regiment, as it mutinied, marched off to swell the army that was to restore the empire of the Mughul. Each detachment of British troops and allies was destined to the service of wresting from the hands of the rebels a place, whose very name was strength to them. At Mainpuri, a young Lieutenant called De Hantzow, with wonderful "courage, patience, good judgment, and temper," almost alone, withstood the roaring tide of mutiny. Not a rupee was taken from the treasury, not a life was lost.

§ 149. The memories of Cawnpur are among the saddest in the history of British India. There, under Sir Hugh Wheeler, aided by Captain Moore, the garrison held out gallantly, for three weeks (June 6th to 27th), in wretched buildings, suffering every privation, and surrounded by a vast multitude of savage enemies. They were then inveigled by the miscreants Dhundu and Azimullah into a surrender. Numbers were shot in the boats which were, as they imagined, to carry them to Allahábád; and the others, women and children, were cut to pieces in a small room, and their bodies, still quivering with life, thrown into a well. Out of the whole garrison, Lieutenant Mowbray-Thompson and three other heroes alone succeeded in forcing their way through the hosts of their savage foes.

§ 150. Meanwhile two of the heroes of the war were on their way to the fatal spot. They were Lieutenant-Colonel James Neill and Sir Henry Havelock. British troops began to pour into Benares, and were passed on to the Upper Provinces. On 17th June, Sir

Patrick Grant, from Madras, took the place of Anson, who had died of cholera.

Benares was kept safe, under incredible difficulties, by Mr. Tucker and Mr. Frederick Gubbins, aided by Súrat Singh (a loyal State prisoner), the Rájá of Benares, and a few others.

On the last day of June, Havelock reached Allahábád, and Neill left for Cawnpur. The battle of Cawnpur was fought on the 16th of July. The Bithaur troops were completely routed. By the 25th July, Havelock marched into Oudh, and his subordinate Neill was inflicting condign punishment on the butchers of Cawnpur.

§ 151. In Lucknow, which he had held, aided by Banks, Inglis, and Fulton, Sir H. Lawrence was killed, on the 2nd July, by the bursting of a shell. In him England lost one of her best, most generous, and heroic men. The defence was maintained by the survivors with equal spirit. It was not till he had three times crossed the Ganges, that Havelock (on the 25th September), after innumerable victories, made his way into Lucknow. The chivalrous Sir James Outram was now in command; but he waived his right, and entered the city as a subordinate of Havelock, from whom he would not take the glory of effecting the relief of the city, for which he had undergone so much. Brigadier-General Neill was killed in the final advance. He was in his 48th year, when his brilliant career thus terminated. Outram was now master of Lucknow; but he could do nothing more than hold the place.

§ 152. The heroic defence of Arrah must not be forgotten. This place is on the west of the Son, and a little to the south-west of Dinapur, where three native regiments had mutinied. For a whole week, *Arrah* was kept by Mr. Wake, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Colvin, and a few more Englishmen and Sikhs, against upwards of 3,000 rebels under Koer Singh. Their fortress was an open bungalow! The first attempt at a rescue was beaten back by overpowering numbers; and in the retreat, the boats which carried the hoped-for reinforcement were only saved by the courage of a young Bengal Civilian named McDonell, who gallantly cut the ropes that bound them, in the midst of a tremendous fire of musketry. On the 2nd August, Major Vincent Eyre gained the brilliant victory of Bibíganj; which was followed up by other successes, and by which the rebel Koer Singh was driven into the jungles, and that part of the country cleared of rebels.

§ 153. But the great interest of the rebellion centres in Dehli. On the 8th June Sir H. Barnard, after a severe action, took possession of the heights near Dehli, and the siege began. The besieged had everything in their favour. The city, thoroughly fortified, was seven miles in circumference. Its defenders were almost countless, and they had an inexhaustible supply of heavy guns and ammunition. The Jamnah flowed beneath its eastern wall; and the well-defended bridge over it, freely admitted

reinforcements and supplies. The besiegers (more besieged, than besieging) were few, sickly, overworked, many of them raw recruits; and their guns did not suffice even to check the enemiy's fire. We cannot give the details of those patient, prudent, and valiant operations, which ended in the capture of Dehli, on the 20th of September 1857. There was a great struggle on the Centenary of Plassey, 23rd June; but the mutineers were triumphantly repulsed Sir H. Barnard died of cholera on 4th July, and was succeeded by General Archdale Wilson. Wilson, Baird Smith, Hodson of the Guides, Nicholson, and Hope Grant among a multitude of others, distinguished themselves.

The king of Dehli was taken prisoner by Major Hodson; and his two sons and grandson shot by that resolute officer, to prevent their being rescued.

§ 154. The rebellion was now really put down. Sind was kept quiet by Sir Bartle Frere and General Jacob. Lord Elphinstone was equal to the emergency in Bombay. General Fraser with the able and patriotic Sir Salar Jang, maintained tranquillity in the Nizám's dominions. The Indor mutineers were disposed of by Greathed's flying column. Ghúrka troops under Sir Jang Bahádúr did good services.

§ 155. The relief of Lucknow and the rescue of the garrison by Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde) was another great event. Sir H. Havelock died 25th November; and his name will live as that of a man of the purest and bravest type.

The Gwáliár contingent mutinied in the middle of October, dethroning their Rájá, but only for a short time. Sindia behaved with the utmost fidelity, and was soon restored in triumph. Whitlock's Madras column in Bandelkhand annihilated the forces of the Rájá of Banda. Cotton and Edwardes guarded the North-West frontier.

§ 156. The murderers of Englishmen and women met on all sides with their just punishment, swiftly and inexorably inflicted. Muhammad Bahádúr Sháh, the last Mughul, was brought to trial (January 27—March 9). He was skilfully defended; but found guilty of murder, treason, and arson, and was sentenced to transportation for life to Barmah. His favourite wife, Zínat Mahál, and his youngest son Jumma Bakht, accompanied him. In Mulmein he died.

§ 157. Lord Canning was at the time blamed much for his "clemency"; but justice was done, while vengeance was disclaimed. Lucknow was finally taken, and the re-conquest of Oudh completed in March.

§ 158. Still Khán Bahádúr of Bareli, the Maulavi of Faizábád, the Begam of Oudh, Prince Fírúz Sháh of Dehli, and the infamous Nána of Bithaur were in arms in Rohilkhand. Bareli was taken and Rohilkhand cleared in May. The rebel leaders, however, escaped for the time.

§ 159. Sir Hugh Rose in Central India made one triumphant and scarcely paralleled march, from Bombay to Indor, Ságar,

Jhánsi, Kálpi, and at last to Gwáliár. His opponent was Tantia Topi, a relative of the Náná. Kálpi, the great arsenal of the rebels, was stormed on the 25th May. The strong fortress of Jhánsi, defended by its heroic but cruel Rání, was taken; and she escaped to fall in battle at the siege of Gwáliár. Gwáliár was taken, and the noble young Mahárájá restored, in the middle of June, 1858.

§ 160. Tantia Topi, a leader with much of the spirit of a Pindári, was taken by Col. Mead, tried and hanged in April 1859, as his share in the Cawnpur massacres deserved. The Náná perished, it is supposed, in the Nepál jungles. The Begam escaped to Khatmandú.

§ 161. Among others, Major Hodson (of the Guides and of "Hodson's Horse"), Sir W. Peel, Commander of a brigade of sailors from the ships of war, and Mr. Venables, an indigo planter, lost their lives, after covering themselves with glory.

§ 162. Lord Canning, in July 1858, declared by proclamation the lands of Oudh forfeited, save in the case of six loyal landowners, offering indulgence to all who threw themselves on British mercy. This measure of confiscation was meant to prepare the way for a plan for placing the loyal among the landed aristocracy of Oudh on a footing of greater security and respectability.

§ 163. On the 2nd August 1858, a bill received the royal assent, placing British India under the direct authority of the Crown. The machinery of government in England was to consist of a Secretary of State for India, aided by a Council of fifteen. Eight of these must have served in India for ten years. The Directors of the East India Company, at one of their last meetings, voted to Sir John Lawrence a pension of £2,000 a year: thus nobly closing their wonderful career. Other great changes followed, amongst which, the abolition of the local European army was one of the most important.

§ 164. The proclamation of the Queen on the assumption of the direct Government of British India was translated into every language of the country; and read aloud, in every station in India on the 1st November 1858. It was admirably and graciously worded; and did much to reassure the minds of the people of India, and to convince them of the justice and benevolence of the English rule, whose strength had been so terribly displayed by recent events. Its closing words were:—

"When by the blessing of Providence internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is Our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all Our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be Our strength: in their contentment Our security: and in their gratitude Our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to Us, and to those in authority under Us, strength to carry out these Our wishes for the good of Our people.

The subsequent history of British India (which is too recent to be described in a work like the present), shows how thoroughly these principles have been carried out. May it ever be so!

§ 165. Lord Canning, the last of the East India Company's Governors-General, was also the first Viceroy for the Queen in India. One of his last public acts was the bestowal of *Sanads* on the loyal Feudatory Chiefs of British India. In these they were constituted feudal nobles of the British Empire; and were guaranteed the peaceable possession of their dominions and the uninterrupted enjoyment of all their recognised rights and privileges—including the much-prized right of adoption, which ensures the perpetuation of the dignity of their families,—so long as they rule justly, and maintain their loyalty to their gracious Sovereign.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE PANJAB.

PART I. SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE PANJAB, TO THE RISE OF RANJIT SINGH.

§ 1. The Panjáb in the earliest times. § 2. Subject to Bactria and Kashmír. § 3. Early Muhammadan invasions. § 4. The Gakkhars. § 5. Subject to Dehli. § 6. Humáyún. § 7. Akbar. § 8. Rise of the Síkhs. § 9. Conquered by Afgháns.

§ 1. We have seen that the earliest glimpses of legendary Indian History show us the Hindú Aryans in possession of the fertile plains of the Panjáb. Again, the first scenes in absolutely authentic Indian History, are the conquests of Darius and Alexander in the same province. In the time of Alexander, the *Paurava* king, called *Porus* by the Greeks, who was the principal chieftain, possessed only one-eighth of the province; it was occupied by a multitude of petty rulers.

§ 2. The Panjáb was next under the Bactrian kings till B. C. 126. Then it appears to have become subject to the king of Kashmír; under whose dominion it was at the time of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiouen-Thsang, in A. D. 629.

§ 3. Mohálib in A. D. 664, and Kásim in 711, conquered Multán; but seem to have advanced no further.

The next person connected with Panjáb history is Jaipál. His contests, and those of the "Bull and Horseman" dynasty, to which he belonged, with the first Muhammadan invaders, are related in Chap. II. Mas'úd II (*see* Chap. II., § 12) resided at Láhor; and there Khusrau Malik, the last of the race of Mahmúd of Ghazní, died in 1186.

§ 4. The Gakkhars, a warlike tribe occupying for centuries the country around Ráwalpindí, at all times exercised great influence on the history of the Panjáb. They took Láhor in 1203, but were expelled by Muhammad Ghori who conquered the whole of the Panjáb.

§ 5. For centuries the Panjáb was subject to Dehli, and became the battle-field where the Mughuls and Afgháns fought for the possession of India. Its Viceroys often rebelled; but it was not till 1414, that one of these, Khizr Khán the first of the Sayyids, usurped the supreme power and reigned in Dehli. Daulat Khán Lodí, the Viceroy of the Panjáb, united with Bábar to

invade India. Láhor was taken and burnt, as the preliminary to the Mughul conquest of India.

§ 6. The Panjáb was yielded by Humáyún to his brother Kámrán, who was compelled to cede it to Sher Sháh (Chap. III., § 15) and flee to Kábul. Sher Sháh then founded Rahtás, which he named after his favourite stronghold between the Ganges and the Son. Sikandar Súr, a nephew of Sher Sháh, proclaimed himself king of the Panjáb in 1554, and was driven into Sarhind by the returning Humáyún, who took possession of Láhor early in 1555.

§ 7. Akbar was compelled to repel several invasions of the Panjáb made by his brother Mírzá Muhammad Hakím; and in 1581, Rájá Bhagaván Dás was made Viceroy. Kashmír was conquered by Akbar in 1586. The tribes who occupy the hills around the plain of Peshávar, the Yúsufzais and Rausháni, gave Akbar much trouble, and were never thoroughly repressed. Their descendants are at perpetual war with the English to this day.

Láhor was the residence of Prince Khusrau, eldest son of Jahángír, who was a near relative of Rájá Bhagaván Dás; and it was the scene of his bitter humiliation. (Chap. III., § 57.)

§ 8. The frequent wars of the Mughul emperors with the Afgháns of Kábul and Kandahár rendered Láhor of great importance; but the Síkhs, in due time, became more formidable than the Afgháns themselves. The rise of the Síkh power was, in fact, about contemporaneous with that of the British in India [*see* Chap. III., § 108]. The Síkh name gives the Panjáb its greatest interest. It was in 1675 that *Guru Govind*, the tenth spiritual chief in succession from Nának, formed the sect of the Síkhs (=*disciples*,) into a religious and military commonwealth, the Khálsá (=*pure*.) In their training there was a combination of the ascetic and the knightly character. Cruel persecution converted them into relentless, gloomy fanatics, equally ready to inflict and to suffer the most cruel torments (Chap. III., § 120). They were only saved from utter extermination by the breaking up of the Mughul empire, upon the death of Aurangzeb.

§ 9. In 1738 an invading army again marched through the Panjáb, under Nádir Sháh; and again three times, under the Afghán, Ahmad Khán, of the Abdáli or Duráni tribe, in 1747—1759. From 1751 the province was severed from the Mughul empire. [*See* Chap. III., § 154].

PART II. THE PANJAB UNDER RANJIT SINGH: AND TO THE FIRST SIKH WAR.

§ 10. Ranjít Singh. § 11. Friendly Policy towards the English. § 12. His death. § 13. Intrigues at Láhor.

§ 10. The British Government came into contact with the Síkhs in 1809. The chiefs then applied to the Governor-General

to protect them from the encroachments of Ranjít Singh. These chiefs were independent of one another, and were divided into twelve confederacies called Misls.

RANJIT Singh was born November 2, 1780, and died 27th June 1839. He first rose into importance in 1798, when he recovered some guns for Zamán Sháh, which had been lost in the Jhelam. He was then appointed Governor of Láhor, by the Afghán monarch, in his eighteenth year. The life of the wily Síkh was given up to the one idea of enlarging his territory, and improving his army for this purpose. Colonel Allard and Colonel Ventura, two of Napoleon's old officers, and Generals Court and Avitabile entered his service in 1822; and under their training the Síkh army became most effective.

§ 11. In 1809, the Síkh Sardárs of Pattiála* and Jhínd appealed to Lord Minto for protection against the encroachments of Ranjít Singh. Mr. Metcalfe was sent as an ambassador to Láhor. In 1831, Lord W. Bentinck had an interview with Ranjít Singh, at Ropar on the Satlaj, conducted with extraordinary pomp and magnificence; when an assurance of perpetual amity was given him by the Governor-General. Till his death, which occurred while he was co-operating with the British in the ill-fated attempt to restore Sháh Shujá to the throne of Afghánistán, he maintained an undeviating course of friendly conduct towards the British Government. His army numbered 82,000 men. His artillery consisted of 376 guns and as many swivels. He was the most remarkable ruler in the East in his day.

§ 12. The death of "the Lion of the Panjáb," was the signal for strife and confusion. Karak Singh, an imbecile, succeeded. He died on 5th of November 1840, after a reign of four months, not without suspicion of poison. His son, Nihál Singh, was killed (by a supposed accident) on the day of his accession; and his uncle, Sher Singh, seized the reins, aided chiefly by Dian Singh, the favourite minister of Ranjít Singh. This man, in 1843, caused both Sher Singh and his son to be assassinated; and anarchy ensued till 1845, when, after many bloody episodes, Dhulíp Singh, son of Ranjít Singh, by his favourite wife Chánd Kaur, was acknowledged as Mahárájá,—the Sardárs, or chiefs, constituting themselves a council. To the whole government was given the name of the Khálsá, or the pure.

§ 13. In 1845 (Chap. X., § 115), the most prominent persons in the Panjab were Guláb Singh of Jammu; Lál Singh, the paramour of the Queen-Mother, and her brother Jowahir Singh; and

* The following account of the chief Feudatory States of the Panjáb was accidentally omitted at page 9 [Introduction, § 12].

In the Jullundar Doab, between the Satlaj and the Beyah, is the protected Síkh State of Kapurthala.

The chief Cis-Satlaj States (*i. e.*, the States *on this side of* the river Satlaj—on its southern and south-eastern side) are Pattiála, Jhínd, and Nabha. The Mahárájás of these states are *Jats;* and are descended from a common ancestor, named Phul. On this account, these principalities are sometimes called the Phulkian States.

Chattar Singh, the commander of the forces. After several massacres Lál Singh became Vazír. It seemed clear that the large and well trained Síkh army, would not long refrain from some outrage; and the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, prepared himself, by increasing the number of British troops between Mírat and the Satlaj to 32,000 men, with 68 field pieces. The wily Síkh chiefs saw an easy way of getting rid of a troublesome army by urging them on to cross the Satlaj, and attack the hated English.

PART III. THE FIRST PANJAB (OR SIKH) WAR.

§ 14. The Síkhs cross the Satlaj. § 15. The battle of Múdkí. § 16. The battle of Fírúz-Sháh. § 17. The battle of Alíwál. § 18. The decisive battle of Sobráon. § 19. Occupation of the Panjáb by the British army. § 20. Further intrigues.

§ 14. On 11th December, 1845, the Síkh army began to cross the Satlaj, and took up their position not far from Fírúzpur. They were numerous, well trained and glowing with enthusiasm. On the 13th December, 1845, Sir H. Hardinge issued a proclamation, setting forth the unprovoked aggression committed by the Síkh soldiery, and calling upon the protected chiefs to aid the British government against the common enemy. The FIRST PANJAB WAR, which lasted exactly two months, had commenced.

§ 15. The first battle took place at MUDKI about 20 miles from Fírúzpur. Lord Gough's army consisted of 11,000 men, and the Síkhs had 30,000 men with 40 guns. The Síkhs were defeated, losing 17 guns. The English had 215 killed and 657 wounded. The charge of the British infantry soon decided the battle. Sir R. Sale and Sir J. McCaskill, brother heroes of the Afghán war, fell in this battle.

§ 16. The next day the Governor-General, who had joined the camp, waiving his rank as Governor-General, placed himself as second under Sir H. Gough. Sir John Littler, from Fírúzpur, with 5,000 troops, now joined the main body; and a combined attack was made upon the Síkh encampment at FIRUZ-SHAH, about 10 miles from Múdkí, and about the same distance from Fírúzpur. The Síkhs had entrenched themselves in a camp in the form of a horse-shoe, a mile long, and half a mile deep. They had upwards of a hundred guns, well appointed and served; and about 30,000 men. An equal number lay on the further bank of the Satlaj. On the 21st December, the whole British army was brought in front of this entrenched camp. The assault began an hour before sunset; and during that remarkable night the English and the Síkhs were mingled on the battle-field in utter confusion. Sir H. Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough bivouacked with their

troops in the bitter cold, without food or covering, waiting with anxiety for the eventful dawn. At daybreak, Hardinge placed himself at the head of the left, and Gough rode at the head of the right wing; and by one rapid daring movement, swept the Síkhs out of their encampment, and out of the village of Firúz-Sháh. Then, after dislodging the enemy from their whole position, "the line," to use Gough's own words, "halted, as if on a day of manœuvre, receiving the two leaders with a cheer, and displaying the captured standards of the Khalsa army." Seventy-three cannons had been taken. Six hundred and ninety-four of the British army had been killed, and one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one wounded! Later in the day, Tej Singh with a fresh body of troops came down upon the exhausted British force. The ammunition was exhausted; but Sir H. Gough moved on his cavalry to attack their flanks, and prepared his wearied infantry for one more charge. But the Síkhs, awed by the resolute demeanour of the English troops, suddenly retreated, and the field was won.

§ 17. There was now a pause. For a month the British force lay all but inactive, waiting for reinforcements and supplies. The Sikhs again crossed the Satlaj, in front of Lúdhiánah with a train of seventy pieces of artillery. On the 28th January was fought the battle of ALIWAL. Sir Harry Smith, with a small body of troops, had been sent towards Lúdhiánah to deter the increasing bodies of Síkhs from crossing the Satlaj. In this march he was encountered by a body of the enemy under Guláb Singh, at Badhliwal, and was not able to attack them, but suffered severely from their fire. This was looked upon by the Síkhs as a victory; but in a few days, having been reinforced by the brigades of Godby, Wheeler, Forster, and Wilson, he marched out and attacked them at Aliwál. The Síkhs had been disciplined by General Avitabile; and the gunners were especially efficient. But they were driven into the river by the steady advance of the British soldiers who hemmed them in. They lost fifty-six guns and all their stores of every kind. This victory determined the Muhammadan chiefs on the Cis-Satlaj border, who now openly hailed the defeat of their Síkh oppressors. Guláb Singh too began to negotiate with the British authorities.

§ 18. It only remained for the British to force the passage of the Satlaj, and take possession of the Panjáb. The Síkhs entrenched themselves at SOBRAON, on both banks of the Satlaj. Sir Harry Smith now joined the Commander-in-Chief; and a siege train from Dehli having arrived, Sir Hugh Gough drew out his forces crescent-wise along the whole Síkh front, and the battle began before dawn on the morning of February 10th. After a terrific cannonade, kept up for three hours, and replied to with equal energy by the Síkh batteries, it was determined to carry the entrenchments at the point of the bayonet. This was done. Sir Harry Smith, Sir W. Gilbert, and Sir Joseph Thackwell won the left and centre of the Síkh position in gallant style. Shám

Singh, of Attári, in white garments, devoted himself to death, and fell at length on a heap of his countrymen. After two hours of close fighting, the wreck of the Sikh army was in full retreat across the river. Eight thousand of these gallant, but unfortunate and misguided men, fell either in the battle or in the attempt to cross the river. The British had three hundred and twenty killed, and two thousand and sixty-three wounded. Sir R. Dick fell at the head of his men. The Panjáb now lay at the mercy of England.

§ 19. On the 13th February, the whole British force crossed the Satlaj; and on the 14th, a proclamation was issued, taking possession of the Pánjab, and announcing the terms on which its occupation would be relinquished. They were distinguished by moderation and wisdom.

(1). The Jallandar Doáb between the Satlaj and the Beyah was annexed.

(2). Kashmír and Hazára were retained.

(3). Dhúlíp Singh was to be sovereign of Láhor, under a council of regency, and a British Resident was appointed "with full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State" till September 1854, when the young Mahárájá would attain the age of sixteen years.

(4). A million and a half sterling was to be paid as part indemnity for the expenses of the war.

(5). A British force was left in Láhor, for the protection of the Mahárájá.

(6). Guláb Singh, the Rájá of Jammu, the chosen minister of the Khalsa, was appointed Rájá of Kashmír, on the payment of one million sterling.

The final arrangement was ratified by the Governor-General on the 26th December 1846. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the gallant army. Sir H. Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough were raised to the peerage, and Sir H. Smith was made a baronet. A donation of twelve months' batta was also given to the troops.

§ 20. In 1846, a rebellion broke out in Kashmír against Guláb Singh. The instigator was discovered to be Lál Singh, the infamous paramour of the queen-mother. He was sent to the fort of Agrah. Chánd Kaur herself was sent a prisoner to Shaikhpura, twenty-five miles from Láhor, in August 1847, as her constant intrigues destroyed the peace of the kingdom.

PART IV. THE SECOND PANJAB (OR SIKH) WAR.

§ 21. Assassination of Vans Agnew and Anderson. § 22. Múlráj. § 23. Commencement of the Second Síkh War. § 24. Siege of Multán. § 25. Summary of the Events of the War. § 26. Storming of Multán. § 27. Battle of Chillianwálah. § 28. Decisive Battle of Gujarát. § 29. Annexation of the Panjáb. § 30. Fate of the Síkh Leaders. § 31. The Panjáb Commission.

§ 21. In March 1848, Sir F. Currie succeeded Sir John Lawrence as Resident of Láhor. At the same time, Múlráj, the Governor of Multán, was negotiating to be relieved from his arduous duties; and Sardár Khán Singh, accompanied by Mr. Vans Agnew, a Bengal Civilian, and Lieutenant Anderson, proceeded thither to be installed as his successor. These two Englishmen were assassinated, with every circumstance of savage wanton barbarity. If Múlráj did not actually arrange the assassination, he rewarded the murderers; and summoned his followers to defend the fort.

§ 22. *Multán*, so often mentioned in this history, was a city celebrated for its strength. The province is chiefly inhabited by Játs, supposed by some to be descendants of the Scythian invaders [*see* Chap. I., § 58]. A Muhammadan viceroy ruled there in the days of the Mughuls. Conquered by Ahmad Sháh Abdáli (in 1759), it belonged to Kábul till 1816, when Ranjít Singh annexed it to the Panjáb. Bháwalpur alone remained under its own Muhammadan Khán. Lálla Múlráj was Governor of the district of Multán in 1848.

§ 23. A holy war on behalf of the Khálsá against Feringhís was now proclaimed. Bháwal Khán of Bháwalpur stood firm as ally of the English. Colonel Cortlandt (commanding at Dera Ismael Khán) and Lieutenant Edwardes, whose energy and determination speedily gave him the lead, raised a few Síkhs and Pathháns; and meeting on the 20th May, won the hard-fought battle of Kineri, on the Chináb, about twenty miles from Multán. The subsequent victory of Suddosam, July 1, gained by Edwardes, Cortlandt, and Lake, shut up Múlráj in his fort, which was invested; but troops and guns were wanting for the capture of a strong fort, a mile in circumference. Meanwhile, it was believed that the outbreak was merely local; but the restless queen-mother's influence was at work, and a plot was discovered for the massacre of all the Europeans in Láhor. The queen-mother was then sent to Benares.

§ 24. It was not till the 5th of September that a field-force, with a siege train under the command of Major-General Whish, commenced in earnest the siege of Multán. The success of the siege was delayed for a while by the treachery of Rájá Sher Singh, who, with five thousand men, went over to the enemy.

§ 25. Meanwhile the whole Panjáb had risen. A widespread conspiracy, which had long existed in the Síkh army, speedily

developed into the Second Panjáb war, which lasted till February 1849. The storming of Multán (January 21, 1849); the questionable victory of Chillianwállah (13th January 1849); and the complete and decisive success at Gujarát (21st February 1849), led to the final annexation of the Panjáb (29th March 1849.) An army, headed by Lord Gough, had now marched past Láhor, across the Rávi, and was encamped on the further bank. The enemy were in force at Rámnagar, and it was desirable to drive them across the Chináb. This was done; but in a splendid cavalry charge, Colonel Havelock, of the 14th Dragoons, and General Cureton, were killed.

§ 26. Meanwhile, at Multán, an attack of Múlráj upon General Whish's encampment was repelled with immense loss to the enemy by Edwardes, Cortlandt, and Markham. And now reinforcements having arrived from Bombay, the siege was renewed, and on the 27th December, a combined attack was made on the city, which was stormed after some days of continuous fighting, on the 3rd January; and after a determined resistance, Múlráj surrendered the citadel itself. The bodies of Anderson and Vans Agnew were disinterred, and borne in solemn procession to the topmost point of the citadel, where they were buried. Edwardes was put in charge of the captured city, and General Whish—his work well done—joined Lord Gough. Múlráj was sent off a prisoner to the Governor-General at Lahor.

§ 27. On the 10th, Lord Gough's army moved on; and on the 12th, came in sight of Sher Singh's army, near the now famous *Chillianwállah.* Here at 3 P.M., in a most unfavourable ground, amid jungles and brushwood, was fought a battle, of which the plan had never been arranged, and in which any but British troops must have been defeated. The Síkhs were driven off the field, and forty guns taken; yet at nightfall, General Gough had to retire a mile to a convenient camping ground.

§ 28. Public opinion in India and England was now excited. Lord Gough's rashness was the theme of every conversation; and Sir C. Napier was appointed to supersede him, and with half a day's notice was on his way to India. But ere the news had reached England, the decisive and almost bloodless battle of Gujarát had shown how the preceding battle had weakened the foe. Instead of retiring on the Jhelam, the Síkhs had taken possession of Gujarát, not far from Vazírábád, the scene of Alexander's victory over Porus, and of some great victories won by the Khálsá in former days.

On the morning of the 20th February 1849, Lord Gough, with an army of 24,000 men and ninety guns, met for the last time the Síkh army. The battle of Gujarát completed the overthrow of the Khálsá. The Síkhs fought bravely, but were driven from the field in utter confusion, and pursued for fourteen miles by the British cavalry. By the evening of the 21st, fifty-six guns had been taken. Their standards, camp equipage, and stores all fell into the hands of the victors, who lost only 92 killed and 700

wounded. General Gilbert, the "flying General," steadily followed up the fugitives until on the 8th March, Sher Singh himself came into the camp. At Hurmak, thousands of Síkhs laid down their arms, and received a rupee each, as they added their weapons to the vast pile of swords, matchlocks, spears, shields, and camel-guns. On the 14th, at Ráwalpindí the same scene was repeated, until more than sixteen thousand had surrendered. On the 17th, Gilbert was at Attock, and there he pursued Dost Muhammad's flying troops past Pesháwar, to the mouth of the Khaibar Pass.

§ 29. The annexation of the whole country of the five rivers was the result. The clemency of Lord Hardinge had been thrown away. British officers had been imprisoned and murdered. Every obligation had been violated by these faithless chiefs. On the 28th March, the Mahárájá Dhúlíp Singh signed in open darbár the treaty which conveyed the realms of Ranjít Singh to the British. A pension of fifty thousand pounds *per annum* was given to the young Rájá. Among other spoils, the Koh-i-núr (hill of light), the largest diamond in the world, was taken and set aside for the Queen of England.

§ 30. The Síkh leaders were still restless and treacherous; and eventually were sent to Fort William, where they remained in arrest for some years. Múlráj was tried for the murder of Váns Agnew and Anderson, and found guilty; but his sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. The Mahárájá Dhúlíp Singh was thoroughly educated; and while still a youth, embraced the Christian faith. He subsequently married a Christian lady of Arabic extraction, and is living in England a dignified and useful life. On him the battle of Gujarát entailed no real loss.

§ 31. The Governor-General had now to arrange the details of a new system of government for the Panjáb. It was made what is called a "non-regulation" province. A commission, consisting of Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence (since Governor-General of India), Mr. Mansell, and Mr. Montgomery, was appointed, to which the administration of the country was entrusted. Assistants, civil and military, were appointed in the five circles of Láhor, Jhelam, Multán, Liah, and Pesháwar. In February 1853, it was judged desirable to replace this Board of Commissioners by a Chief Commissioner; and Sir John Lawrence was appointed to that office, which he filled till the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF MYSOR.

PART I. EARLY HISTORY DOWN TO THE USURPATION OF HAIDAR ALI.

§ 1. Rájá Udaiyár. § 2. Chik Deo Ráj. § 3. Usurpation of the Prime Ministers. § 4. Nandiráj. § 5. Defeated by the Mahrattas.

§ 1. The small state of Mysor acquired its independence on the fall of Bijanagar in 1565 [*see* Chap. IV., § 18]. The expelled Bíjánagar princes took up their abode at Seringapatam under the protection of the Rájás of Mysor; where they kept up a kind of state. Gradually the Rájá of Mysor increased his little territory; but it was Rájá Udaiyár [or *Wadeyár*] (died in 1617) who largely extended the limits and greatly consolidated the power of the kingdom. Seringapatam became the seat of the government in this reign, the Bíjánagar dynasty having become extinct. This Rájá was the chief Hindú prince, south of the Krishna.

§ 2. The greatest of his descendants was Kantírava Narsa Ráj (1640—1659). The Crown then passed to a distant branch of the royal family. The two next kings were Dodda (Senior) Deo Ráj (1659—1672), and Chik (Junior) Deo Ráj (1672—1704). Mysor, now a considerable state, had to contend with the Muhammadan power in the Dakhin, then in its zenith, as well as with the rising Mahrattas. Sivaji possessed Ginji and Vellor; while Tanjor, Bangalor, and other places not far off, were in the hands of Mahratta Chiefs [*see* Chap. V., § 15]. Chik Deo Ráj prudently avoided all contact with the belligerent parties, and set himself to bring his own feudatories to absolute subjection. His government was most despotic; and his exactions drove many villagers to the neighbouring Nilgiri hills. He put down all opposition, however, by an indiscriminate massacre of the Jangam priests. He bought Bangalor from the Tanjor Rájá (Ekoji or Venkaji) for the small sum of three lakhs of rupees; and obtained from Aurangzeb the title of Rájá, and the privilege of sitting on an ivory throne. This throne still exists.

§ 3. The next two Rájás were Kantírava and Dodda Kistna, both imbecile. The result was the virtual sovereignty of the two ministers, Deo Ráj and his cousin Nandiráj. They may be said

to have completely usurped all the functions of government before 1731; and they actually deposed and imprisoned Chám Ráj. In 1733, Mysor was invaded by Dost Alí, Nawáb of the Carnatic; but he was defeated by Deo Ráj, whose cousin had died shortly before. Nizám-ul-Mulk now demanded tribute at the head of an army (1743), and Deo Ráj thought it better to submit.

§ 4. Deo Ráj had a younger brother called Nandí Ráj, to whom he now made over the virtual sovereignty. This Nandi Ráj to strengthen his position, married a daughter of the titular king, Chik Kistna Ráj. We find him aiding Muhammad Alí [*see* Chap. VIII., § 13] in 1752. In 1749 he undertook the siege of Deonhalli, where Haidar, then thirty years of age, distinguished himself as a volunteer. From this time the latter is the prominent figure in the history.

§ 5. In 1755, Deo Ráj was compelled to pay a tribute of fifty-six lakhs of rupees to Salábat Jang, aided by Bussy. In 1756, the Mahrattas under Báláji Báji Rao, appeared before Seringapatam and compelled Nandi Ráj to pay a heavy tribute, and to surrender a large portion of territory.

PART II. FROM THE USURPATION OF HAIDAR IN 1760, TO THE END OF THE FIRST WAR WITH THE ENGLISH IN 1769.

§ 6. Rise of Haidar Alí. § 7. The Sack of Bednor. § 8. Contest with Mádu Ráo. § 9. Invasion of Malabar. § 10. Triple confederacy against Haidar. § 11. First appearance of Tippú. § 12. The Nizám joins the English. § 13. A Bombay force defeated by Haidar. § 14. Disgraceful conclusion of the First Mysor War.

§ 6. It was time now for some strong hand to grasp the reins, and Haidar Alí stood ready. He was the grandson of a religious mendicant from the Panjáb, and son of a brave cavalry officer. He entered the Mysor service at the age of thirty, and was soon promoted to the command of fifty horse and two hundred infantry with authority to augment his forces as he could. He was then put into command in the Dindigal district. There by plunder, deceit, and cunning he obtained large funds and a considerable army. At last in June 1761, he received from the Rájá a formal renunciation of the kingdom, three lakhs a year being assigned to the Rájá for his support, and one lakh to Nandiráj. The latter personage being detected afterwards plotting against Haidar, was consigned to perpetual imprisonment.

§ 7. Haidar now attacked and took Bednor, where he found immense treasures, which materially aided him in his rise. He soon reduced the whole province, which was under a Náyakan Rájá.

§ 8. In 1765, the warlike Mádu Ráo [Chap. V., § 45] determined to chastise the audacious usurper, who had now 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot soldiers under his banners. Haidar was signally defeated, compelled to relinquish his new conquests, and to pay 32 lakhs of rupees.

§ 9. In 1766, he invaded Malabar and took Calicat, the Rájá of which burnt himself in his palace, to avoid captivity.

§ 10. A confederacy against Haidar was now formed by the Mahrattas and the Nizám, into which unfortunately the Madras Government was drawn by the terms of the treaty with the Nizám. The Mahrattas under Mádu Ráo, without waiting for their allies, passed the Krishna, and began to plunder; but were bought off by Haidar. The Nizám was also bribed by Haidar not only to forsake the confederacy, but to join in an attack on the English. Colonel Smith, who commanded the British Contingent found himself with about 7,000 troops and 16 guns, opposed to an army of 70,000 with 100 guns! He defeated them, however, at *Changáma* and *Trinomali* (both places being in South Arcot); taking 64 guns and killing 4,000 of the enemy.

§ 11. It was at this time that Haidar's son Tippú, then seventeen years of age, was employed with a body of 5,000 horse in plundering up to the very gates of Madras.

§ 12. The Nizám now sought for peace, his territories having been invaded by a Bengal force under Colonel Peach. A peace was signed in 1768, which was in every way discreditable to the Madras Government. In the treaty Haidar was referred to with extreme contempt as a rebel and usurper, and it was stipulated that the English should take the Carnatic Bálaghát from him, and hold it under the Nizám.

§ 13. A force from Bombay now invaded the Western Coast, destroyed the Mysor fleet, and took Mangalor and Honawar. Haidar soon drove them away; and the British Commander abandoned even the wounded, 260 in number, to his fury.

§ 14. The war in the Baramahál and the Carnatic was pushed on, however, by Colonel Smith with such energy and success, that Haidar lost eight of his principal forts and all the mountain passes, and was prepared to make considerable sacrifices for peace. The Madras Government foolishly declined. The tide now turned. Colonel Smith had been superseded. Haidar recovered in six weeks all he had lost, and ravaged the Carnatic almost unchecked. The Madras Council now sued for peace. Smith was again put at the head of the army, and kept Haidar at bay. But, sending his guns, baggage, and infantry back, he advanced with unexampled rapidity with 6,000 chosen cavalry to within a few miles of Madras, where he dictated a peace, on the basis of a mutual restitution of conquests, with the stipulation that "in case either of the contracting parties should be attacked, they should mutually assist one another to drive out the enemy."

Thus ended, in disgrace, the FIRST MYSÓR WAR. 1766—1769.

PART III. FROM THE END OF THE FIRST MYSOR WAR IN 1769, TO THE DEATH OF HAIDAR IN 1782.

§ 15. Haidar defeated by the Mahrattas. § 16. His recovery of power. § 17. Quarrel with the English. § 18. Triple confederacy against the English. § 19. Haidar invades the Carnatic. § 20. Sir Eyre Coote brings reinforcements from Bengal. § 21. Defeat of Haidar at Porto Novo. § 22. Overland march of an army from Calcutta. § 23. Decisive victories of Coote at Pollilor and Solingarh. § 24. War between the English and the Dutch. § 25. Varying fortune of Haidar. § 26. He is aided by the French. § 27. Death of Haidar.

§ 15. Haidar now resolved again to defy the Mahrattas. The result was an overwhelming defeat at Cherkúli, and he was soon shut up in Seringapatam. Haidar was often drunk at this period; and, in a drunken fit once beat Tippú with savage cruelty. Haidar now appealed, but in vain, for the promised assistance of the Madras Government; and he was at last obliged to purchase the departure of the Mahrattas by a payment of 36 lakhs of rupees, the promise of an annual tribute of 14 lakhs, and the cession of territory that reduced the kingdom to almost its original size. 1772. (Chap. V., § 52).

Haidar never forgave the English.

§ 16. The troubles of the Mahratta State gave the indomitable Mysorean time to recover himself. He attacked Kúrg, and treated the people with savage ferocity, offering 5 rupees for the head of each male. Seven hundred heads were thus laid at his feet and paid for by himself. Before the end of 1776 he had regained all the lost territory, and had taken Bellary, Gutti, and Sávanúr. By 1778 the Krishna was his northern boundary. During this period Haidar, dreading the Mahrattas, would willingly have made peace with the English, and offered to assist in carrying Raghoba to Púna. His offers were neglected.

§ 17. On the breaking out of war between France and England in 1778, the English proposed to take Mahé. This Haidar resented. But the place was taken in 1779. Haidar angrily protested. Schwartz, a missionary, was sent as an envoy to him; but could effect nothing.

§ 18. A confederacy was now formed consisting of all the Mahratta Chiefs (except the Gaikwár), Haidar, and the Nizám to drive the English out of India. They might have succeeded, if Warren Hastings, with incomparable energy and genius, had not come to the rescue. Mr. Hornby, the President of Bombay, seconded him with vigour and prudence.

§ 19. Haidar was the only one of the confederates that was thoroughly in earnest. Though he was in his 78th year, he personally superintended every preparation for the war; and in June 1780 he had collected an army of 90,000 men, mostly

trained and led by European Officers, with a powerful artillery, also under European direction.

Having caused solemn supplications for the success of his expedition to be made in every Mosque and Hindú temple, he poured his mighty armament down the Changáma pass on 20th July 1780. Ruthlessly he laid waste the whole country. Muhammad Alí's commandants treacherously abandoned to him all the forts in his way, and in a few days he was at Conjeveram, 50 miles from Madras. The second Mysor War had begun in good earnest. Sir Hector Munro, who had distinguished himself in Bengal, was Commander-in-Chief with 5,000 troops; and Colonel Baillie in command of 2,800 men, was on his way to occupy Guntur. These bodies of troops should have been united; but Munro allowed Haidar to interpose, and the result was that Baillie's force was cut up, their stores, baggage, and equipments taken, and Baillie himself with about 200 men were taken prisoners, after gallantly sustaining 13 attacks of the enemy. Munro was only two miles distant, and his appearance on the spot would have converted the disaster into a decisive victory. He now retreated to Madras, and thus ended this memorable campaign of 21 days.

§ 20. A vessel was immediately sent to Calcutta, to bear the tidings to Hastings of the greatest reverse the English arms had ever sustained in India. He hesitated not a moment; but bent all his energies to the one task of saving the Carnatic. In three weeks an army under the veteran Sir Eyre Coote, now Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, was on its way to Madras, with 15 lakhs of rupees, for the use of the army. Coote reached Madras on 5th November; but was not able to take the field till 17th January 1781. Meanwhile Haidar had besieged Arcot, and after six weeks took it, through the treachery of its Commandant who was a Bráhman. Lieutenant Flint defended Wandewash in a manner that reminds us of Clive's defence of Arcot.

§ 21. Coote marched towards Cuddalor; and Haidar, marching 100 miles in two days and a half, took up a strong position near Porto Novo. Coote instantly attacked him, and after a battle which lasted six hours, obtained a decisive victory. Haidar lost 10,000 men. Tippu raised the siege of Wandewash, which the heroic Flint had thus saved.

§ 22. Meanwhile, for the second time, Hastings had sent a large army by land to aid a distant Presidency. Some Bráhman Sepoys refused to go by sea, and had mutinied. To remove the difficulty of a sea voyage, Hastings sent them along the Coast by land, a distance of 700 miles. Colonel Pearce marched on 7th January 1781; and reached Palikat in July. Coote effected a junction with this force on the 2nd August.

§ 23. Haidar met Coote's combined forces at the same spot where Baillie had been defeated, and on the anniversary of that day, according to the lunar year. His astrologers promised him another victory on that lucky spot (Pollilor), and on that auspi-

cious day (August 27). Haidar was however defeated with severe loss.

A third great battle was fought at Solingarh, near Vellor, September 27. Coote's victory was complete. Haidar's loss was 5,000 men, while that of the English did not exceed 100.

§ 24. Lord Macartney now succeeded as Governor of Madras. War had been declared with Holland; and Lord Macartney, with a force collected from all sides, sent Sir H. Munro, by whom, with the co-operation of the fleet, Nágapatam was taken on 12th November. The noble harbour and town of Trincomalee, in Ceylon, was taken from the Dutch in January 1782. At the peace of Versailles in 1783, these conquests were finally made over to England.

§ 25. Colonel Braithwaite, deceived by treacherous spies, was defeated by Tippú with an overwhelming force on the banks of the Coleroon after an heroic struggle of 26 hours. To counterbalance this, the garrison of Tellicheri, after having been besieged for 18 months, made a sortie, and took 1,200 of Haidar's troops prisoners with all their baggage, ammunition, and cannon. This roused the whole Western Coast and Kúrg against their detested conqueror.

§ 26. Haidar was now beginning to despond, when a French armament under Admiral Sufferin, appeared at Palikat. Admiral Hughes encountered and defeated him; but he succeeded in landing 2,000 French soldiers and 1,000 Africans at Porto Novo. Several indecisive engagements were fought by sea and land, of which the chief was before Arní, 2nd July 1782.

§ 27. Admiral Bickerton landed 4,000 English troops at Madras, and immediately set sail. Madras was a prey to famine, from which the deaths were 1,500 a week. Sir E. Coote too returned to Bengal. He resigned his command from ill-health. The prospects of the English were gloomy on every side; when tidings arrived of the death of Haidar on 7th December 1782, at the age of eighty, of a carbuncle. Utterly uneducated, by mere force of character and will, he raised himself to the lofty eminence on which he stood.

PART IV. FROM THE ACCESSION OF TIPPU TO THE END OF THE THIRD MYSOR WAR IN 1792.

§ 28. Tippú Sultán. § 29. His Campaign on the Western Coast. § 30. Aided by the French. § 31. The English invade Mysor. § 32. The Treaty of Mangalor. § 33. Tippú's ambitious Schemes. § 34. His Success against the Mahrattas. § 35. Invasion of Malabar. § 36. Attack on Travancor. § 37. The Third Mysor War. § 38. Delay in taking Seringapatam. § 39. The First Siege of Seringapatam. § 40. Tippú yields to the British.

§ 28. Púrnia and Krishna Ráo, two able Bráhman ministers, concealed Haidar's death, and sent word to Tippú, who was 400 miles distant on the Malabar Coast. Tippú reached the troops on the Coromandel Coast on 2nd January 1783; and found himself at the head of an army of 100,000 men, with 3 crores of rupees in his treasury, besides jewels and other valuables to an enormous amount.

§ 29. Tippú speedily set out for the Western Coast, where he imagined the greatest danger to be. There Major Abingdon had reduced Calicut, and Colonel Humberstone and Colonel Macleod entrenched themselves at Ponání. General Matthews had taken possession of Honawar; five large ships belonging to Tippú had been taken; and now Bednor was given up to Matthews, without a struggle. This intelligence took Tippú to the spot with all his army. Bednor was re-taken, and subsequently Mangalor; though both were defended with the utmost gallantry. These sieges cost him half his army.

§ 30. Meanwhile, General Stuart, who had succeeded Sir E. Coote, was perhaps incapable of retrieving the British fortunes in the Carnatic. The veteran Bussy, with 2,300 French troops and 5000 French sepoys, landed at Cuddalor, April 10, 1783. Sir E. Coote was again sent to take the command, but expired two days after his arrival at Madras, April 26th. He was one of the greatest of Generals. Stuart undertook the siege of Cuddalor. Suffrein and Hughes fought at sea, with no decisive result. Tidings happily arrived of the peace of Versailles. Bussy immediately ceased all military operations, and re-called the French officers in Tippú's army.

§ 31. An expedition under Colonel Fullarton was now sent into the heart of Mysor. He took Karúr, Dindigal, Pálkkát, and Coimbator, and was on the point of marching for Seringapatam, when Lord Macartney, with strange ignorance of native character, sent envoys to propose a peace; and despite all the opposition of Hastings (whose Indian career was drawing to a close), and of others, hurried it on, so that Tippú was able to make it appear that the English were suppliants to him for peace.

§ 32. All the surviving British prisoners whom Tippú had treated with disgusting and savage cruelty were released, and all

conquests on either side were to be restored. Baillie, Matthews, and many of the bravest had been murdered by the miscreant.

Thus ended the Second Mysor War, in the disgraceful treaty of Mangalor, 1784. It required another war to undo the evil effects of this foolish treaty. The day it was signed, Tippú assured his French allies that he would as soon as possible renew the war with England.

§ 33. Tippú was now at liberty to carry out his own schemes. His fanaticism, and his mad hatred of the English, and his ferocity, detract from what would otherwise be almost a great character. In his career lofty ambition, some military genius, and consummate bravery were conspicuous; but he was wild and visionary. His first two expeditions were into Kanara and Kúrg, whence he carried away upwards of one hundred thousand persons, whom he forcibly made into Musalmáns, and then distributed them among his garrisons.

His next step was to assume the title of "Pádsháh," which properly belonged to the Emperor of Delhi alone; and from that time his name was inserted into the public prayers instead of that of Sháh Aíam.

§ 34. Tippú now had to encounter a great and pressing danger. The Mahrattas under the rule of Náná Farnavís and the Nizám combined to crush him, and to share his dominions. The result was that the Mysorean boldly carried the war into the districts north of the Túmbadra, and brought the confederates to terms. He agreed to pay arrears of tribute, and to restore the captured towns. They abandoned the war, acknowledging him sole ruler to the Túmbadra.

§ 35. Tippú was now beside himself with pride. He made an expedition into the Malabar district, where he offered the Náyars the option of death, or the Korán. He thus converted or expelled the whole population; and destroyed, according to his own account, 8,000 temples. There is no doubt that Tippú even aimed at becoming a kind of prophet in the estimation of the people.

§ 36. Travancor had hitherto escaped the horrors of war. Its Rájá had formed a defensive alliance with the English a few years before. Tippú now found out various grievances, which rendered it necessary for him to punish the Travancor Rájá. Accordingly in December 1789, he made an attack on the Travancor lines, but was repulsed with immense loss, escaping almost alone; his palanquin and all his ornaments, seals and rings, having fallen into the hands of the enemy.

His rage was terrible, and he vowed not to leave his encampment till he had taken ample revenge. Three months were passed in preparations, carefully concealed from the English; and in April 1790, he began the work in earnest, and was soon inside the wall.

§ 37. Lord Cornwallis interfered. A treaty was signed by the Nizám, in which he ceded Guntur, according to the terms of the treaty of 1768; and an arrangement was made by which he was to

co-operate in the war against Tippú and to share in the territory which might be taken from him. The Mahratta Government were also invited to join the confederacy, and were to share in the spoil. Náná Farnavís consented to this, for his fear and hatred of Tippú overcame even his reluctance to co-operate with the English.

Lord Cornwallis now informed Tippú that his conduct in attacking an ally of England had made him an enemy of the British power. Lord Cornwallis came down from Calcutta to take the command of the army, which advanced up the Ghát at once by the Múglí pass, having deceived Tippú, by a pretended march to Ambúr. Bangalor capitulated on 21st March. Tippú now marched to defend his capital; and on 13th May, at Arikera, a short distance from Seringapatam, was fought a battle, in which Tippú sustained a complete defeat.

§ 38. Seringapatam would now have been taken; but the British force and the Nizám's Contingent were in want of every necessary. Lord Cornwallis was obliged therefore to return to Madras. A day after his homeward march had begun, the Mahrattás came up. Their dilatoriness had mainly caused the failure of the campaign. Hari Pant, their General, was intent only on plunder.

§ 39. Lord Cornwallis employed the remainder of the year in clearing the Baramahál and reducing Tippú's fortresses, deemed, by the Mysoreans impregnable, but taken with ease by the British troops. In January 1792, his arrangements were complete; and the British army took the field with a splendour and completeness of equipment, which astonished all India. On 5th February the siege of Seringapatam began. Tippú had strengthened his defences to the utmost. They consisted of three lines protected by 360 cannons, the earthworks covered by an impenetrable hedge of thorn. The works were stormed on the night of the 6th, with the loss of 530 killed and wounded. Tippú lost in killed, wounded, and deserters, 20,000 men.

The siege was pressed on, and Tippú by the advice of his officers acceded to the terms dictated by Lord Cornwallis. He was to cede half his territories, pay 3 crores of rupees, besides thirty lakhs to the Mahrattás, and to give up two of his sons as hostages. The treaty was nearly broken off, when Tippú found that Kúrg was included in the territories to be ceded; but the Governor-General was ready at once to push on the siege, and the Sultán was obliged to yield.

§ 40. The Nizám's troops and the Mahrattas had rendered no assistance, and had even treacherously corresponded with the enemy; but Lord Cornwallis divided the territory and the indemnity money scrupulously with them. The English territorial gain was (1) the district of Dindigal; (2) the Baramahál; and (3) the district of Malabar, which had been conquered by General Abercrombie. Kúrg was restored to its own Rájá.

Thus gloriously ended the Third Mysor War. February 1792.

PART V. THE FOURTH MYSOR WAR.

§ 41. Tippú's preparations for war. § 42. Alliance with the French. § 43. Lord Wellesley's preparations for war. § 44. Buonaparte promises to help Tippú. § 45. Tippú defeated at Sedasír. § 46. The English advance on Seringapatam. § 47. Tippú's despair. § 48. Themistorng of Seringapatam. § 49. Death of Tippú. § 50. Colonel Wellesley in command at Seringapatam. § 51. Settlement of Mysor by the Governor-General.

§ 41. Six years elapsed without any breach of this treaty; and the two hostages were sent back to their father in 1794. Tippú strengthened himself, nursed his hatred against the English, entertained a body of French officers by whom his army, in all its branches, was brought to a state of great efficiency.

§ 42. The Mauritius proclamation brought matters to an issue. It was put forth by the Governor of the Mauritius; and announced that envoys from Tippú had arrived in the island, proposing an alliance offensive and defensive, and asking for troops to expel the English from India. A French frigate at this time landed 100 men, civil and military, at Mangalor. These on reaching Seringapatam organized a Jacobin (French) Club under the auspices of "citizen Tippú," planted a tree of liberty, crowned it with the cap of equality, and proclaimed the French Republic, one and indivisible!

§ 43. Lord Wellesley, called on Tippú to disavow his embassy to the Mauritius, and prepared for war. He first negociated with the Nizám (*see* Chap. III., § 149) and a subsidiary alliance was the result, 1798. Captain Malcolm (Sir John) contrived to arrange the placing of the Nizám's army on its new footing without loss of life. The Peshwá, while refusing to form a subsidiary alliance, gave an assurance of his fidelity to the existing engagements.

§ 44. The Directors wrote out authorising a war with Tippú, and Lord Wellesley made all his arrangements with promptitude; sent down to Madras the 33rd Regiment, commanded by his brother, Colonel Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington); and himself arrived in Madras, December 31, 1798, and proceeded to negociate with Tippú; who tried to procrastinate, while he wrote to Zamán Sháh, inviting him to join the Holy War, in which the infidel English were "to become food for the swords of the pious warriors." [*see* Chap. X., § 33]. Buonaparte wrote him, that "he had arrived on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of delivering him from the iron yoke of England!"

§ 45. Lord Wellesley and Lord Clive (Governor of Madras, son of the great Clive) by unparalleled efforts had raised and fully equipped a force of 20,800 men, of whom 6,000 were Europeans. To this was added 10,000 of the Nizám's cavalry with 10,000 foot under European officers led by Colonel Wellesley and Captain Malcolm, though nominally commanded by the Nizám's son (*see* Chap. III., § 149). General Harris was Commander-in-Chief

of the forces. Colonels Read and Brown were in the Baramahál and Coimbator; and General Stuart commanded the Bombay troops, who marched from Cannanor through Kúrg to Periapatam. At Sedasír, few miles from Periapatam, the first battle was fought. Tippú's forces commanded by himself were routed with the loss of 2,000 men.

§ 46. General Harris marched through the valley of Ambur and the Baramahál to Ráikot, where he encamped, March 4. From thence he advanced to Mallavelli, 40 miles from Seringapatam. Here took place the second struggle. The result was a loss to the Sultán of 1,000 men, while the English lost only 69. General Harris now crossed the Káveri, to the south of Seringapatam. This movement, secretly carried out, was unexpected by Tippú, and threw him into a state of deep despondency.

§ 47. The whole united army was before Seringapatam by the 15th April. Tippú was now in despair. He consulted soothsayers, caused prayers to be offered in Muhammadan Mosques and in Hindú temples; sent vakíls to propose terms of peace; and then in rage and mortification refused to yield to the terms imposed by Lord Harris. No trace of common sense, or generalship is discernible in his behaviour at this period.

§ 48. The breach, on the south-western face of the fortifications, was reported practicable on the evening of May 3rd. Before day-break on the 4th, General Baird, who had for four years been a prisoner in the dungeons of the city, led the troops to the assault. In seven minutes the British flag was planted on the summit of the breach. The two columns, after encountering many obstacles, and gallant opposition from a small band of Mysor troops, met over the eastern gateway. The city was taken.

§ 49. The body of the Sultán himself was found in a palankín under an archway, beneath a heap of slain. It was buried with military honours the next day in a beautiful mausoleum in the Lál Bágh. It was ascertained (and it takes away any lingering feeling of pity for the tyrant), that every European prisoner taken during the siege had been put to death by Tippú.

§ 50. Púrnia, the minister; Kamar-ud-dín, the Chief Officer; Fath Haidar, the Sultán's eldest son; and all the principal officers, civil and military, now surrendered themselves. The whole kingdom lay at the feet of the victor. Colonel Wellesley was made Commandant of the captured city, in which he soon restored order and confidence; and the Governor-General proceeded to make arrangements for the disposal of the conquered kingdom.

§ 51. The conquest undoubtedly rendered England supreme in the Dakhin. It was the first manifestation of that wonderful energy, with which English wars in India have ever since been conducted. It remained to show an example of moderation in the hour of triumph. The arrangements made were these:

1st. The family of Tippú was set aside; and its members were removed to Vellor, where a suitable provision was made for them.

2nd. The representative of the ancient Hindú royal family, a child of 5 years of age, was living with his mother in an obscure hut in the suburbs. They were brought forth from their obscurity, and the child, whose name was Krishnarájá Wadeyár Bahádúr, was put upon the throne.

3rd. The Company took possession of Kanara, Coimbator, and the Wynaad.

4th. The districts of Gurramkotta, Guttí, and others near Haidarábád, were made over to the Nizám.

PART VI. AFFAIRS SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEATH OF TIPPU.

§ 52. Government under Púrnia and General Wellesley. § 53. Bad government under the Rájá. § 54. Intervention of the British Government. § 55. The adoption of an heir, the present Mahárájá.

§ 52. During the minority of the young Rájá, who was thus set up by the English, the able minister Púrnia conducted the affairs of the kingdom. General Wellesley remained, during the intervals of his campaigns, till March 1805, to discharge the duties of Commissioner of Mysor; and by his administration conferred permanent benefits upon the people.

§ 53. In 1812, Púrnia retired, and was handsomely pensioned; and Linga Ráj was made Diwán, with diminished powers. The Rájá soon dissipated the treasure, and so oppressed his subjects that a rebellion broke out. The troops were unpaid and the ráyats were ground down by excessive and arbitrary taxation.

§ 54. In 1832, the British Government interfered, as the treaty of 1799 required them to do. The mismanagement had been so gross, and the Rájá had been so entirely deaf to advice pressed upon him, that it was felt that the Governor-General could do nothing but take the entire management of the State from his hands. Sir T. Munro, when Governor of Madras, visited Mysor, and personally urged amendment upon the Rájá, but in vain. Sir Mark Cubbon was the first Commissioner under the new system. A liberal pension was assigned to the Rájá. The country has been exceptionally prosperous from that time.

§ 55. The Rája died March 27, 1868, without heirs. He had, however, adopted in 1865 a distant relative called Chám Rájendra. In 1867 Her Majesty's Government were pleased to recognise this adoption; and the young chief has been proclaimed Mahárájá of Mysor. He is receiving a training suitable to his rank and prospects under the supervision of officers appointed by the Paramount Power.

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